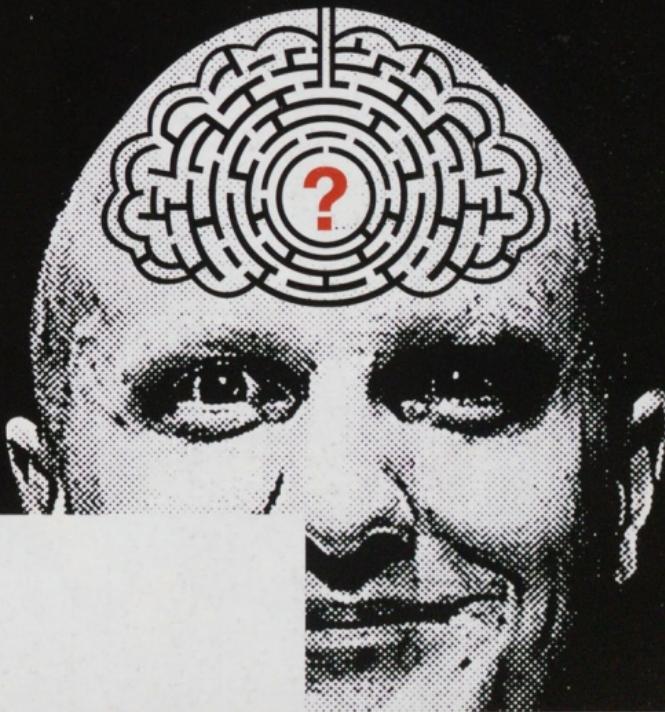


SPECIAL REPORT: TRAGEDY IN TUCSON

# TIME

## Guns. Speech. Madness.

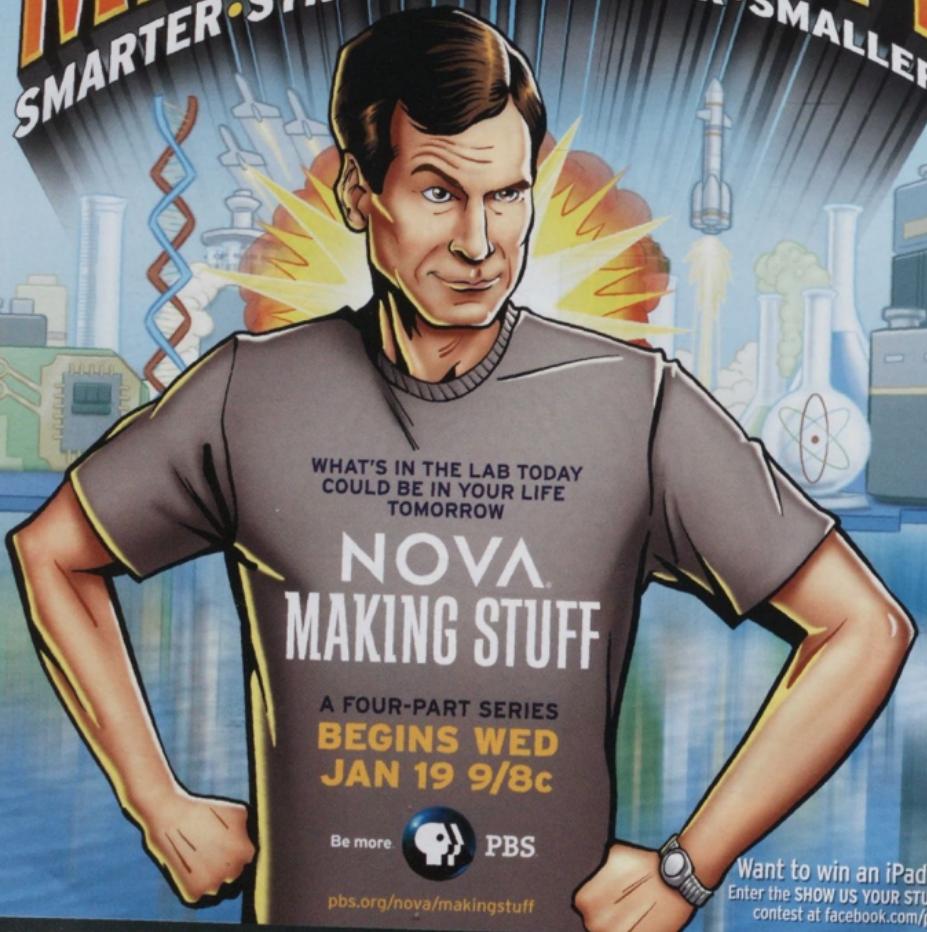
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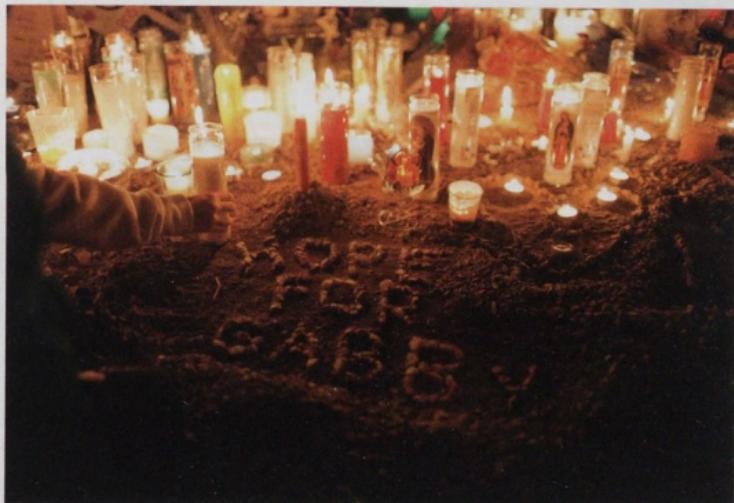
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**Flickers of hope** People left candles, flowers and messages outside Representative Gabrielle Giffords' office the evening after her shooting. Photograph by Matt Slaby—Luceo for TIME

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ON THE COVER: Photo-Illustration by Sean McCabe for TIME. Photograph from Pima County Sheriff's Department/AFP/Getty Images

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To Our Readers

# After Tucson.

The shootings in Arizona have prompted a national conversation on guns, mental illness and the state of our political discourse

ONE OF THE ATTRIBUTES THAT MAKE US human is that we try to make sense of things that don't make sense. We often impute order where there may be none. These traits can lead us to form conclusions that don't correspond to reality. For most people, that's not a problem. But as journalists, trying to find meaning is what defines us. It's what we do. And we need to get it right.

For the past week, Americans have been trying to make sense of a senseless act of violence. This has provoked a discussion on the role of political discourse, guns and mental illness in our society. That is as it should be. But this discussion has quickly fallen into predictable patterns: the left blaming the right for inflammatory rhetoric, the right blaming the left for unfairly singling it out. Tucson, Ariz., has become a kind of Rorschach test of where you are on the political spectrum when it comes to free speech and the right to bear arms.

We don't know whether inflammatory language or images can incite the mentally ill to commit acts of violence. It seems unlikely. But when we demonize our political adversaries rather than their points of view, we go beyond the bounds of desirable discourse, even though doing so is permitted under the First Amendment. The Constitution allows violent speech, but it abhors violence. But just because you have the right to say something doesn't mean you should.

At the same time, I would never put restrictions on what people can say, no matter how violent the rhetoric—as long as it remains rhetoric. That's the standard in *Brandenburg v. Ohio*, the Supreme Court's defining case on free speech. "Mere advocacy" of any doctrine, however violent, does not violate the First Amendment. And that makes sense. Words don't kill people; guns do. In an open and free society, we don't police speech, but we do police those who violate the law by committing violent acts. Our job is not to restrict speech but to restrict access to weapons by those who should not have them.



Trying to make sense of it all Members of the media assemble outside the home of Randy and Amy Loughner, parents of alleged gunman Jared Loughner

This special issue reflects the complexity of what happened in Tucson and its aftermath. When the story broke, news director Howard Chua-Eoan contacted Nathan Thornburgh, who had written a piece on the political climate in Arizona last year, and sent him to the scene. Local reporter Adam Klawonn was soon filing for TIME.com. Washington bureau chief Michael Duffy sent Alex Altman to Arizona, while other members of the Washington bureau reported on all aspects of the shooting. Photographer Matt Slaby was on the ground for us by the night of Jan. 8.

David Von Drehle, for his opening story, drew on all this reporting in a masterly way, telling not only of what happened but of the interperateness and score settling the event produced afterward. No one understands better than David that the public discourse of the commentator has very little to do with how ordinary Americans live their lives. John Cloud's piece on the mental illness of Jared Loughner explains the complicated science of what goes on in an unhinged mind. Michael Grunwald's story on what has happened to gun control attempts to answer the question of why

you can't carry a bottle of shampoo on an airplane but can buy a semiautomatic weapon, even if you're not in your right mind. Joe Klein looks at the political terrain that got us here and the unintended consequences of allowing mentally ill people and automatic weapons on the streets.

That being said, have we been able to find meaning where there may be none? You be the judge. At the very least, in the wake of the Tucson shootings, you may find some comfort in our adaptation of Ruth Davis Konigsberg's new book, *The Truth About Grief*, which examines the latest research on loss and explains why we're more resilient than we think.

Rich  
Rick

Richard Stengel, MANAGING EDITOR



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# 10 Questions.

The Wikipedia founder celebrates his website's 10th anniversary Jan. 15.  
**Jimmy Wales will now take your questions**

## How did Wikipedia start?

Anushka Gole, MUMBAI

Wikipedia was my second attempt at creating a free encyclopedia for everyone. The first attempt was called Nupedia, which was a failure. The model we used to try to create Nupedia was very top-down, very academic and not very much fun for the volunteers. I launched the Wiki in 2001, and it just grew and grew and grew.

## Why did you decide to allow users to edit Wikipedia?

Lewis Boone IV,

KANSAS CITY, KANS.

The main reason we allow everyone to edit is quality. It's about allowing for an open, democratic dialogue to get the best possible entry that we can. The great beauty of the Internet is that it allows for a huge range of people to participate constructively.

## Is the traditional encyclopedia dead?

Peter Heidener,

AARHUS, DENMARK

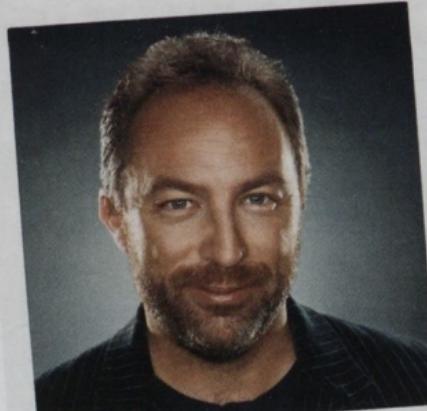
I'm not sure if it's dead, but it certainly is ailing—although it was ailing long before we came along. Britannica took a severe hit from Microsoft Encarta, which dramatically reduced the cost of the encyclopedia.

## Does Wikipedia as it is now fulfill the expectations you had when you started it?

Sharon Lechuyse,

GHEENT, BELGIUM

I remember, in the early days of Wikipedia, looking at a list of the top 10 websites and seeing an encyclopedia-reference site ranked around No. 50. I thought, If we do a really good job, maybe we can



*Jimmy Wales*

make it into the top 100. Now we're the fifth most popular website in the world, with over 400 million people visiting every month. It's much bigger than I expected.

## Is Wikipedia financially sustainable?

Joonpyo Sohn, SEOUL

We think it is. We exist through the donations of the general public. The vast majority of [them] come from our annual giving campaign. That gives us enough money for another year. Is it sustainable in the long term? I think it is, but time will tell.

## Would you run ads if the need occurred? Or would you shut down Wikipedia?

James Lillin, HAMBURG, N.Y.

We're opposed to having advertising on Wikipedia, but we will do what it takes to keep Wikipedia alive. In the event that the public was no longer willing to support us to the degree that we needed, we would first look at cost-cutting measures. We would eventually have to look at putting some ads in some obscure part of the site. [But] it's not something that we even think is likely to happen.

## When is censorship of entries acceptable?

Carlos Castellar, MIAMI

We need to make a very careful distinction between censorship and editorial judgment. Censorship is forbidding the publication of certain knowledge. Editorial

judgment [means asking], Are these facts relevant? Are they verifiable? Every entry has to be subject to thoughtful editorial judgment. But it's never the case that we should accept censorship.

## In what ways can the accuracy and integrity of information on Wikipedia be improved?

Jawad Farooq, LONDON

By improving the software that's available to the community to monitor Wikipedia, the degree to which they can control things, diversifying the contributor base. We're very, very good on topics that are of interest to the late-20s, early-30s tech geek male because that's our core contributor group. We need more participation in topics outside that range.

## Do you worry that WikiLeaks is giving Wikipedia a bad name?

Dennis Pope,

RIVERSIDE, CALIF.

We have absolutely nothing to do with WikiLeaks. We shouldn't get credit for it, and we shouldn't get criticized for it. I've had a couple of cringing moments where I see some head of state who makes the error, and I'm like, Oh, come on.

## What lie would you allow on your Wikipedia page?

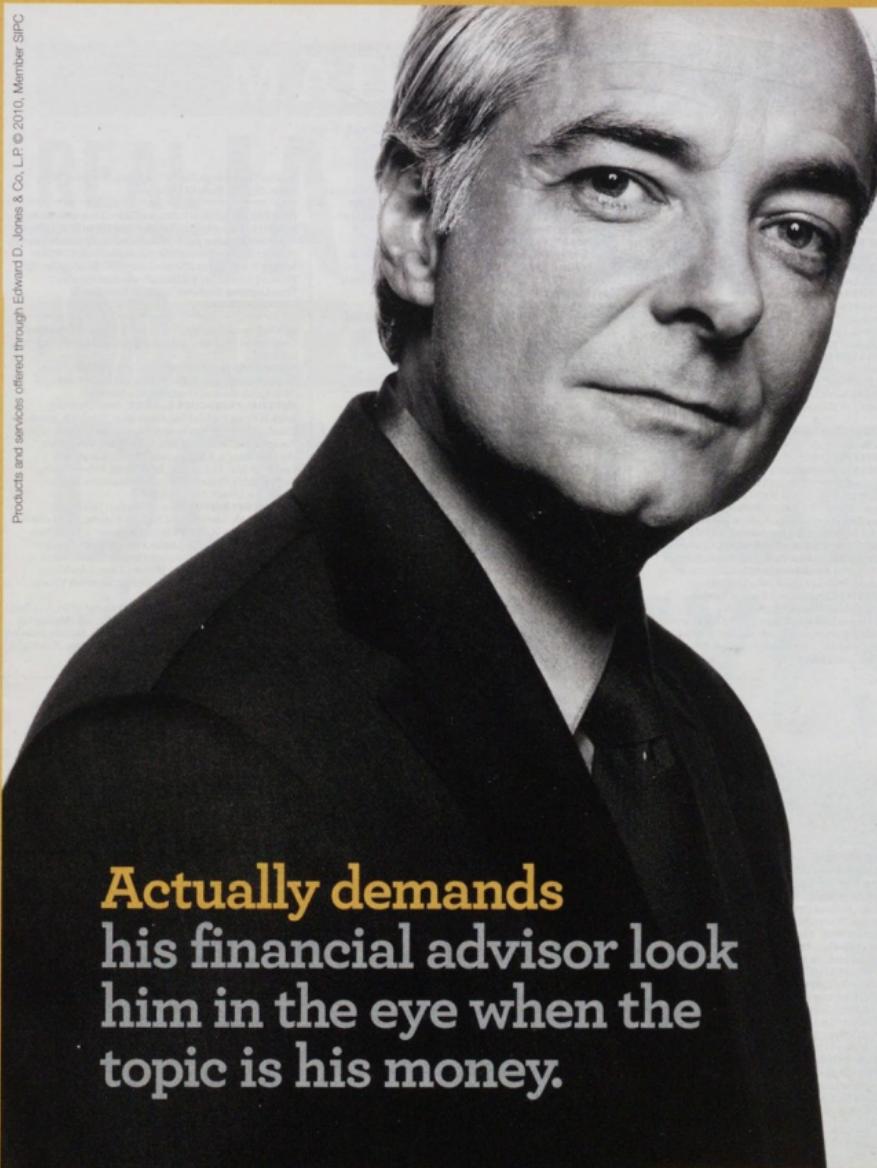
Jeremy Parilla,

TAGUIG CITY, PHILIPPINES  
[Laughs.] It should say, "He always has a clever response to every question." Absolutely a lie.



VIDEO AT TIME.COM

To watch interviews with Jimmy Wales and other newsmakers, go to [time.com/10questions](http://time.com/10questions)



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# Inbox

## A Heroine in Burma

I read "The First Lady of Freedom" as soon as I received the issue [Jan. 10]. Then I read it out loud to all who would listen. I am 17 years old, and I deeply admire Aung San Suu Kyi. I am grateful for TIME's emphasis on her importance; it's journalism like this that inspires people to action.

Hope Loudon, RENO, NEV.

Because the top generals in Burma's junta hate and fear her, Suu Kyi has not been able to negotiate on political reform. Yet her commitment to nonviolent resistance has prevented most of the country from falling into the kind of vicious cycle of terrorism and counterterrorism that has occurred in Sri Lanka, a country with Buddhist values similar to Burma's. She may continue to be marginalized by the junta, but her moral example makes her one of Asia's great leaders.

Donald M. Seekins, WAIAPUH, HAWAII

Democracy comes from within. It certainly has a chance in Burma with such a brilliant woman as Suu Kyi leading the way.

Mike McDonald, ST. PAUL, MINN.

## The Lowdown on 2010

Re "The Year of Living Predictably" [Jan. 10]: Let Joe Klein tell the millions of newly unemployed that "nothing all that surprising really happened" in 2010 and see what they say.

Dale Williams, WILLOW PARK, TEXAS

Klein suggests that not passing the Dream Act was "a spite-filled step back." But it is against the law to enter the U.S. without proper documentation—and the law doesn't say anything about a person's age.

D. Mark O'Neill, OMAHA

As the father of an adult son living with epilepsy, I am disappointed in Klein's unfortunate word choice in compar-

ing the stridency of cable-TV news to an "epileptic seizure." I look to TIME to bring clarity and thoughtfulness to news, not to contribute to the stigmatization of such a misunderstood and underfunded disorder. Perhaps Klein can take this opportunity to report on the lack of coherent national policy relating to epilepsy, which affects the daily lives of millions of Americans.

Patrick Hager, ST. PAUL, MINN.

## That's No Maverick

He may be a Tea Party "star," but Virginia's attorney general, Ken Cuccinelli, is no different from his counterparts who make the same noises about abortion, gays and

### SOUND OFF

**'We loved Spider-Man in previews. The design and techronics are genius. The show will get fine-tuned and run forever.'**

Lou Jackson, ATLANTA, on "Web of Intrigue," Jan. 10



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Foster Care:  
Extreme  
Edition

6%

How readers responded  
FAVORABLE CRITICAL

The First  
Lady of  
Freedom

7%

The Year  
of Living  
Predictably

18%



small government [Richmond Memo, Jan. 10]. I would venture a guess that a man with seven children savors his taxpayer-funded governmental health insurance, though eliminating it would save quite a bit of money for taxpayers. Cuccinelli rails against "big" government until he needs it for personal gain.

Marty Weixel, ALLISON PARK, PA.

For a devoted Catholic, Cuccinelli has certainly missed one of the core messages of his faith: care for poor people without prejudice.

Tom Teune, WHEATON, ILL.

## Amping Up Adoptions

Re "Foster Care: Extreme Edition" [Jan. 10]: As a child, my mother was bounced around and placed in an orphanage, and she married at age 14. She forever had a hole in her psyche due to her abandonment, despite a plethora of available relatives. Too bad this innovative program wasn't available for her!

Patricia Sheafe Piggee, FREDERICKSBURG, VA.

You note that Kevin Campbell is credited with "inventing" family finding. Native Americans won the right to have Native American children adopted by members of their families or, failing that, members of their tribes over 30 years ago when the Indian Child Welfare Act of 1978 was passed. Congress passed the law because it was in the best interests of the children as well as for the stability and security of Native American families and tribes.

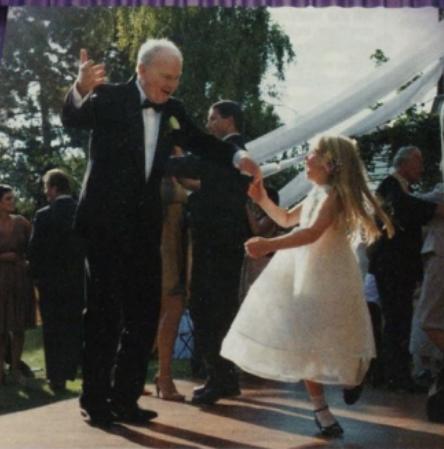
Deanna Panitaq Kingston,  
CORVALLIS, ORE.

## SETTING THE RECORD STRAIGHT

► In an article on WikiLeaks' Julian Assange, we neglected to cite the source for a quotation from NYU's Louis Klarevas ("The Short List," Dec. 27-Jan. 3). The comment was made in an article by Klarevas on The Atlantic.com.

# COPD?

Find out if ADVAIR® can help you breathe better and take center stage in your own life.



ADVAIR helps improve your lung function so you breathe better.\* That way, you may be able to take more of a leading role in your own life. Unlike most COPD medications, ADVAIR contains both an anti-inflammatory<sup>†</sup> and a long-acting bronchodilator working together. ADVAIR is not for, and should not be used to treat, sudden, severe symptoms of COPD. It won't replace a rescue inhaler. Ask your doctor about ADVAIR.

To get your first full prescription free and to save on refills,<sup>‡</sup> visit [ADVAIR.com](http://ADVAIR.com) or call 1-800-520-4197.

ADVAIR DISKUS 250/50 is approved for adults with COPD, including chronic bronchitis, emphysema, or both.

You should only take 1 inhalation of ADVAIR twice a day. Higher doses will not provide additional benefits.

## IMPORTANT SAFETY INFORMATION ABOUT ADVAIR DISKUS 250/50 FOR COPD:

- Do not use ADVAIR to treat sudden, severe symptoms of COPD. Always have a rescue inhaler medicine with you to treat sudden symptoms.
- Do not use ADVAIR DISKUS if you have severe allergy to milk proteins. Ask your doctor if you are not sure.
- Do not use ADVAIR more often than prescribed. Do not take ADVAIR with other medicines that contain long-acting beta-agonists for any reason. Tell your doctor about medicines you take and about all of your medical conditions.
- ADVAIR can cause serious side effects, including:
  - **serious allergic reactions.** Call your healthcare provider or get emergency medical care if you get any of the following symptoms of a serious allergic reaction: rash; hives; swelling of the face, mouth, and tongue; or breathing problems
  - **sudden breathing problems immediately after inhaling your medicine**
  - **effects on heart:** increased blood pressure, a fast and irregular heartbeat, chest pain
  - **effects on nervous system:** tremor, nervousness
  - **reduced adrenal function (may result in loss of energy)**
  - **changes in blood (sugar, potassium, certain types of white blood cells)**
  - **weakened immune system and a higher chance of infections.** You should avoid exposure to chickenpox and measles, and, if exposed, consult your healthcare provider without delay. Worsening

of existing tuberculosis, fungal, bacterial, viral, or parasitic infections, or ocular herpes simplex may occur.

- **lower bone mineral density.** This may be a problem for people who already have a higher chance of low bone density (osteoporosis).

- **eye problems including glaucoma and cataracts.** You should have regular eye exams while using ADVAIR.

- **pneumonia.** People with COPD have a higher chance of getting pneumonia. ADVAIR may increase the chance of getting pneumonia. Call your doctor if you notice any of the following symptoms: increase in mucus (sputum) production, change in mucus color, fever, chills, increased cough, increased breathing problems.

- **Common side effects of ADVAIR DISKUS 250/50 for COPD include** thrush in the mouth and throat, throat irritation, hoarseness and voice changes, viral respiratory infections, headache, and muscle and bone pain.

\*Measured by a breathing test in people taking ADVAIR 250/50, compared with people taking either fluticasone propionate 250 mcg or salmeterol 50 mcg. Your results may vary.

<sup>†</sup>It is not known how anti-inflammatories work in COPD.

<sup>‡</sup>Restrictions apply. See [adairCOPD.com](http://adairCOPD.com) for eligibility rules. You are encouraged to report negative side effects of prescription drugs to the FDA. Visit [www.fda.gov/medwatch](http://www.fda.gov/medwatch), or call 1-800-FDA-1088.

Please see Brief Summary of Important Safety Information about ADVAIR DISKUS on adjacent page.



If you don't have prescription coverage  
and can't afford your medicines,  
visit [GSKForYou.com](http://GSKForYou.com)  
or call 1-866-GSK-FOR-U (1-866-475-3678)



**ADVAIR DISKUS<sup>®</sup>**  
(fluticasone propionate 250 mcg and salmeterol 50 mcg inhalation powder)



GlaxoSmithKline

# ADVAIR DISKUS®

(fluticasone propionate and salmeterol inhalation powder) BRIEF SUMMARY

This summary does not take the place of talking to your healthcare provider about your medical condition or treatment. See full Prescribing Information for complete product information.

## What is the most important information I should know about ADVAIR DISKUS?

ADVAIR DISKUS can cause serious side effects, including:

1. People with asthma who take long-acting beta<sub>2</sub>-adrenergic agonist (LABA) medicines, such as salmeterol (one of the medicines in ADVAIR DISKUS), have an increased risk of death from asthma problems. It is not known whether fluticasone propionate, the other medicine in ADVAIR DISKUS, reduces the risk of death from asthma problems seen with salmeterol.
- Call your healthcare provider if breathing problems worsen over time while using ADVAIR DISKUS. You may need different treatment.
- Get emergency medical care if:
  - breathing problems worsen quickly and
  - you use your rescue inhaler medicine, but it does not relieve your breathing problems.
2. ADVAIR DISKUS should be used only if your healthcare provider decides that your asthma is not well controlled with a long-term asthma control medicine, such as inhaled corticosteroids.
3. When your asthma is well controlled, your healthcare provider may tell you to stop taking ADVAIR DISKUS. Your healthcare provider will decide if you can stop ADVAIR DISKUS without loss of asthma control. Your healthcare provider may prescribe a different asthma control medicine for you, such as an inhaled corticosteroid.
4. Children and adolescents who take LABA medicines may have an increased risk of being hospitalized for asthma problems.

## What is ADVAIR DISKUS?

- ADVAIR DISKUS combines an inhaled corticosteroid medicine, fluticasone propionate (the same medicine found in FLOVENT<sup>®</sup>), and a LABA medicine, salmeterol (the same medicine found in SEREVENT<sup>®</sup>).

- Inhaled corticosteroids help to decrease inflammation in the lungs. Inflammation in the lungs can lead to asthma symptoms.  
- LABA medicines are used in people with asthma and chronic obstructive pulmonary disease (COPD). LABA medicines help the muscles around the airways in your lungs stay relaxed to prevent symptoms, such as wheezing and shortness of breath. These symptoms can happen when the muscles around the airways tighten. This makes it hard to breathe. In severe cases, wheezing can stop your breathing and cause death if not treated right away.

- ADVAIR DISKUS is used for asthma and COPD as follows:

### Asthma

ADVAIR DISKUS is used to control symptoms of asthma and to prevent symptoms such as wheezing in adults and children aged 4 years and older.

ADVAIR DISKUS contains salmeterol (the same medicine found in SEREVENT<sup>®</sup>). LABA medicines, such as salmeterol, increase the risk of death from asthma problems.

ADVAIR DISKUS is not for adults and children with asthma who:

- are well controlled with another asthma control medicine, such as a low to medium dose of an inhaled corticosteroid medicine
- have sudden asthma symptoms.

### COPD

COPD is a chronic lung disease that includes chronic bronchitis, emphysema, or both. ADVAIR DISKUS 250/50 is used long term, 2 times each day to help improve lung function for better breathing in adults with COPD. ADVAIR DISKUS 250/50 has been shown to decrease the number of flare-ups and worsening of COPD symptoms (exacerbations).

## Who should not use ADVAIR DISKUS?

Do not use ADVAIR DISKUS:

- to treat sudden, severe symptoms of asthma or COPD

- if you have a severe allergy to milk proteins. Ask your doctor if you are not sure.

## What should I tell my healthcare provider before using ADVAIR DISKUS?

Tell your healthcare provider about all of your health conditions, including if you:

- have heart problems
- have seizures
- have diabetes
- have osteoporosis
- have an immune system problem
- are pregnant or planning to become pregnant. It is not known if ADVAIR DISKUS may harm your unborn baby.
- are breastfeeding. It is not known if ADVAIR DISKUS passes into your milk and if it can harm your baby.
- are allergic to any of the ingredients in ADVAIR DISKUS, any other medicines, or food products
- are exposed to chickenpox or measles

Tell your healthcare provider about all the medicines you take including prescription and non-prescription medicines, vitamins, and herbal supplements. ADVAIR DISKUS and certain other medicines may interact with each other. This may cause serious side effects. Especially, tell your healthcare provider if you take Norvir. The anti-HIV medicines NORVIR<sup>®</sup> (ritonavir capsules) Soft Gelatin, NORVIR (ritonavir oral solution), and KALETRA<sup>®</sup> (lopinavir/ritonavir) Tablets contain ritonavir.

Know the medicines you take. Keep a list and show it to your healthcare provider and pharmacist each time you get a new medicine.

## How do I use ADVAIR DISKUS?

Do not use ADVAIR DISKUS unless your healthcare provider has taught you and you understand everything. Ask your healthcare provider or pharmacist if you have any questions.

- Children should use ADVAIR DISKUS with an adult's help, as instructed by the child's healthcare provider.
- Use ADVAIR DISKUS exactly as prescribed. **Do not use ADVAIR DISKUS more often than prescribed.** ADVAIR DISKUS comes in 3 strengths. Your healthcare provider has prescribed the one that is best for your condition.
- The usual dosage of ADVAIR DISKUS is 1 inhalation 2 times each day (morning and evening). The 2 doses should be about 12 hours apart. Rinse your mouth with water after using ADVAIR DISKUS.
- If you take more ADVAIR DISKUS than your doctor has prescribed, get medical help right away if you have any unusual symptoms, such as worsening shortness of breath, chest pain, increased heart rate, or shakiness.
- If you miss a dose of ADVAIR DISKUS, just skip that dose. Take your next dose at your usual time. Do not take 2 doses at one time.
- Do not use a spacer device with ADVAIR DISKUS.
- Do not breathe into ADVAIR DISKUS.
- While you are using ADVAIR DISKUS 2 times each day, **do not use other medicines that contain a LABA for any reason.** Ask your healthcare provider or pharmacist if any of your other medicines are LABA medicines.
- Do not stop using ADVAIR DISKUS or other asthma medicines unless told to do so by your healthcare provider because your symptoms might get worse. Your healthcare provider will change your medicines as needed.
- ADVAIR DISKUS does not relieve sudden symptoms. Always have a rescue inhaler medicine with you to treat sudden symptoms. If you do not have an inhaled, short-acting bronchodilator, call your healthcare provider to have one prescribed for you.

## Call your healthcare provider or get medical care right away if:

- your breathing problems worsen with ADVAIR DISKUS
- you need to use your rescue inhaler medicine more often than usual
- your rescue inhaler medicine does not work as well for you at relieving symptoms
- you need to use 4 or more inhalations of your rescue inhaler medicine for 2 or more days in a row

- you use 1 whole canister of your rescue inhaler medicine in 3 weeks<sup>1</sup> time
- your peak flow meter results decrease. Your healthcare provider will tell you the numbers that are right for you.
- you have asthma and your symptoms do not improve after using ADVAIR DISKUS regularly for 1 week

## What are the possible side effects with ADVAIR DISKUS?

- ADVAIR DISKUS can cause serious side effects, including:
  - See "What is the most important information I should know about ADVAIR DISKUS?"
  - **serious allergic reactions.** Call your healthcare provider or get emergency medical care if you get any of the following symptoms of a serious allergic reaction:
    - rash
    - hives
    - swelling of the face, mouth, and tongue
    - breathing problems
  - sudden breathing problems immediately after inhaling your medicine
  - effects on heart
    - increased blood pressure
    - a fast and irregular heartbeat
    - chest pain
  - effects on nervous system
    - tremor
    - nervousness
  - reduced adrenal function (may result in loss of energy)
  - changes in blood (sugar, potassium, certain types of white blood cells)
  - weakened immune system and a higher chance of infections
  - lower bone mineral density. This may be a problem for people who already have a higher chance of low bone density (osteoporosis).
  - eye problems including glaucoma and cataracts. You should have regular eye exams while using ADVAIR DISKUS.
  - slowed growth in children. A child's growth should be checked often.
  - pneumonia. People with COPD have a higher chance of getting pneumonia. ADVAIR DISKUS may increase the chance of getting pneumonia. Call your healthcare provider if you notice any of the following symptoms:
    - increase in mucus (sputum) production
    - change in mucus color
    - fever
    - chills
    - increased cough
    - increased breathing problems

## Common side effects of ADVAIR DISKUS include:

- **Asthma:**
  - upper respiratory tract infection
  - throat irritation
  - hoarseness and voice changes
  - thrush in the mouth and throat
  - bronchitis
  - cough
  - headache
  - nausea and vomiting
- **in children with asthma,** infections in the ear, nose, and throat are common.

Tell your healthcare provider about any side effect that bothers you or that does not go away.

These are not all the side effects with ADVAIR DISKUS. Ask your healthcare provider or pharmacist for more information. Call your doctor for medical advice about side effects. You may report side effects to the FDA at 1-800-FDA-1088. Ask your healthcare provider or pharmacist for additional information about ADVAIR DISKUS. You can also contact the company that makes ADVAIR DISKUS (toll free at 1-888-825-5249 or at [www.advar.com](http://www.advar.com)).

# Briefing

THE WORLD WASHINGTON WHITE HOUSE MEMO LAB REPORT

VERBATIM HISTORY MILESTONES



## The Moment

### I|12|II: Haiti

THE FIRST ANNIVERSARY OF HAITI'S EARTHQUAKE IS MORE REALITY check than commemoration. Yes, the world's immediate response to the western hemisphere's worst natural disaster—a 7.0-magnitude convulsion that leveled Port-au-Prince and killed some 230,000 people on Jan. 12, 2010—was remarkable. But since then, the reconstruction campaign has hit a wall of concrete rubble, as much as 22 million cubic yards of it, only 5% of which has been cleared. "The recovery can't really begin," says Haitian urban architect and presidential candidate Leslie Voltaire, "until the rubble is removed." Yet few if any countries besides the U.S. are funding backhoes and dump trucks. One reason: debris removal isn't sexy. Governments and NGOs pull taxpayer and donor heartstrings with new schools and prosthetic limbs, not by hauling twisted rebar. Another culprit is a leadership vacuum that most Haitians blame on their aloof President, René Préval, who has yet to provide reliable results from the fraud-tainted Nov. 28 presidential election—a reminder that the other rubble destitute Haiti needs to remove is its legacy of centuries of misrule. —BY TIM PADGETT

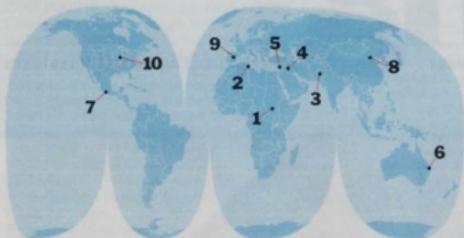


### Still Digging Out

To see photos and videos about the Haiti quake anniversary, visit [time.com/haiti](http://time.com/haiti)

# The World

10 ESSENTIAL STORIES



On the referendum's ballot, the symbol of an open hand represents independence

## 1 | Sudan

### Voting for a New Nation

Southern Sudan's much anticipated referendum on whether to secede commenced Jan. 9 with a high voter turnout and much rejoicing. Yet there were also reports of deadly violence in the north-south border areas, and tensions remained high in Africa's largest country. The weeklong vote, expected to lead to the formation of the world's newest nation, is a result of a 2005 peace agreement between the Sudanese government and southern rebels after decades of civil war between the predominantly Arab Muslim north and mostly Christian and animist south. Despite the relative ease of the vote, many key issues, such as precise borders and the status of the disputed oil-rich Abyei region, have yet to be resolved. The new nation may also have to reckon with up to half a million southerners returning home from the north.

## 2 | Tunisia

### Protests Hit North Africa

Tunisia has seen weeks of strikes and riots triggered by anger at unemployment and the perceived corruption of the rulers. A crackdown on demonstrations throughout the small North African state led to at least 21 confirmed deaths, though rights groups claim casualties are more than double that figure. The government of President Zine el Abidine Ben Ali, who has ruled for more than 23 years, ordered universities and schools shut in a bid to halt further protests and instituted curfews, while police arrested hundreds. Despite those measures, the unrest, unprecedented in this relatively stable and affluent country, continued apace.



Supporters of an Islamist party laud Mumtaz Qadri at a march in the city of Hyderabad

## 3 | Pakistan

### An Assassin Celebrated

Rather than mourn the death of Salmaan Taseer, Punjab's progressive governor, tens of thousands showed their support for his murderer. Crowds cast Taseer's confessed killer, Mumtaz Qadri, as a hero and rallied in support of the blasphemy laws Taseer had criticized. The laws, which make insulting Islam a crime punishable by death, have been used to persecute Christians and other minorities, but Islamabad vowed not to amend them—not least because of the strength of Islamist sentiment in the country.



## 4 | Iraq

### Anti-American Cleric Returns

Muqtada al-Sadr, whose Shi'ite militia led bloody uprisings against American forces in Iraq, made a triumphant return from more than three years of self-imposed exile in Iran to assume a central (if unofficial) role in the newly formed Shi'ite-led Iraqi government. The return of the radical cleric, who was greeted by rapturous crowds, is a sign of Tehran's influence in Baghdad and further evidence that Iraq may insist on U.S. troops' departure from the country by the end of 2011. Sadr vehemently opposes the continued American military presence.

## 5 | Lebanon

### Crisis in Beirut

Lebanon's national unity government collapsed Jan. 12 after 11 Ministers from Hezbollah and its allies resigned. Hezbollah is disputing the likely verdict of a U.N. tribunal that is expected to indict some of its members for the assassination of former Prime Minister Rafiq Hariri. The resignations arrived just as Prime Minister Saad Hariri and President Obama met in Washington for urgent talks on the future of the fragile Lebanese government.

## 6 | Australia

### Brisbane Succumbs To Floods

Two-thirds of the state of Queensland was declared a disaster zone as the region faced a third week of flooding. Brisbane, Queensland's capital, was inundated after flash floods that killed 10 in a nearby town reached the city, Australia's third largest. The government estimates that the floods could cause a \$12.8 billion hit to the country's \$1.3 trillion GDP.

**Numbers:** 6,100

Age, in years, of the world's oldest known winery, recently discovered in a cave in Armenia

47%

Percentage of MySpace's global workforce to be cut; MySpace is trying to reinvent itself as an entertainment site

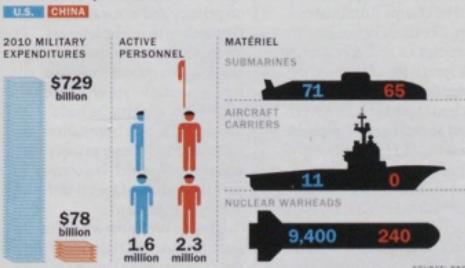


## 8 | China

**Gates Visit Looks to Mend Military Ties**

U.S. Secretary of Defense Robert Gates visited China on a four-day trip aimed at patching up military relations with Beijing, which have frayed in recent years. Tensions between the two powers spiked over proposed U.S. arms sales to Taiwan, the island nation China still considers part of its territory, as well as China's tacit support of North Korea. Observers see a hardening of battle lines in the Pacific Ocean as a revitalized Chinese navy prepares to challenge decades of U.S. dominance. Ahead of President Hu Jintao's upcoming trip to Washington, Gates left Beijing amid speculation of a split between Beijing's civilian leadership and its more hawkish military counterparts.

## A look at two powers

**180**

Number of planes ordered by low-cost Indian carrier IndiGo; it is the largest jet order in commercial aviation history

**4,000**

Number of pennies a burglar allegedly stole from a Maryland church; the coins were part of a charity project by area children

## 7 | Mexico

**MURDERS IN PARADISE**

During four bloody days of turf warfare between drug cartels, more than 30 bodies, 15 of them headless, were found in Acapulco. The violence has led to a sharp decline in visits by foreigners to the resort city, where three cartels are fighting for control of its port. More than 30,000 people nationwide have died as a result of drug violence since the Mexican government launched a crackdown on cartels in December 2006.



## 10 | Illinois

**Tax Hikes and Budget Cuts**

Illinois lawmakers, seeking to make up a \$15 billion budget shortfall, approved an increase in the personal income tax from 3% to 5%—the state's first increase since 1989 and the biggest tax hike yet by states struggling with massive deficits. Along with spending cuts, the hike is expected to generate \$7 billion a year, enough to balance the annual budget and help the state pay overdue bills. Meanwhile, California's new governor, Jerry Brown, slashed \$12 billion from that state's budget and extended temporary tax breaks that were due to expire this year.

## 9 | Spain

**ETA Calls a Cease-Fire**

Madrid reacted cautiously after the Basque separatist group ETA declared a previously announced cease-fire to be permanent. ETA, however, has broken several cease-fires in the past, and Spanish Prime Minister José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero said a peace process could not begin until the group agreed to disarm and dissolve. The militant group is blamed for more than 850 deaths in the course of its 30-year campaign to carve out an independent ethnic-Basque homeland from parts of Spain and France.

# Washington

The Politics Page



## The Big Questions

By Mark Halperin

### What political good has come out of the tragic Arizona shooting so far?

More than the nation might have hoped, given recent history. Extreme voices on the left and right have unfortunately behaved in a typically belligerent fashion, but politicians from both parties have performed admirably. President Obama, Speaker John Boehner, Arizona Governor Jan Brewer and rank-and-file members of Congress have all lowered their voices and sought to address the nation's grief and substantive concerns—including looking to soften the tone of our politics without limiting free speech.

### Who has failed to rise to the occasion?

Those liberals (particularly on the Internet) who instantly blamed the right for effectively instigating the assault and those conservatives (particularly on talk radio) who turned cherry-picked examples of liberal overreach into sweeping generalizations. Most prominently, Sarah Palin, who first avoided tough questions about her midterm-campaign map that featured cross-hairs over Representative Giffords' district and her talk of "reloading" in political battle. Palin eventually released an eight-minute video in which she denounced efforts to link her to the shootings as "blood libel." Even some conservatives wonder if this will be the defining moment for Palin and her presidential chances.

### What should an optimist hope for next?

That politicians will move from denouncing hostile rhetoric broadly to the steeper step of calling out members of their own clan. Bipartisan cooperation on real issues like jobs, taxes and trade. And a respite from tribal and unforgiving new-media politics.

#### PRIVACY

### Twitter Fights Wiki Case; Tech World Takes Notice

BY BARTON GELLMAN

Twitter has just done something remarkable. It stood up for its customers against the government.

Federal prosecutors want to indict Julian Assange for making public a great many classified documents. In December, the feds obtained a secret order instructing Twitter to hand over private-account contents for Assange and four WikiLeaks associates, including network addresses, connection logs and identities of everyone they talked to. The order forbade Twitter to notify those affected.

Twitter stalled, winning a motion to lift the gag order, which is how we know about the case. Twitter then notified its users, promising to hand over nothing if they filed a legal challenge within 10 days. All this is gold-standard customer protection, enabling courts to balance the needs of prosecutors with the civil liberties of their targets. It almost never happens.

The Obama Administration, like those before it, promotes an absurdly narrow interpretation of the Fourth Amendment, distorting ancient cases to claim government agents need no probable cause to search e-mails, copy hard drives or plant GPS trackers in cars. We have no "reasonable expectation of privacy," so they say, because we have already given our secrets to Google or Sprint or Skype. (Believers in that claim: Send me your e-mail archives.)

Companies that receive such demands have plenty of room for maneuver, but they

scarcely use it. Assange and his allies take precautions, but as security researcher Christopher Soghoian notes, prosecutors assemble data from many sources to "draw the graph" of WikiLeaks' operations. That's why other phone, Internet and social-networking companies surely received the same demands as Twitter.

Twitter lived up handsomely to a policy of providing no private information without a binding order and of notifying users unless legally barred. Other top companies will not even say what their policies are. I sent six questions to Verizon Wireless, Sprint, AT&T, T-Mobile, Comcast, Time Warner Cable, Google, Yahoo, Microsoft, Facebook, MySpace and Skype. None gave a substantive reply.

Microsoft said it takes customer privacy "very seriously" and has "specific processes" for breaching it but offered no details. Skype chose to "decline participating in this story." Facebook: "No comment."

Paul Ohm, a former computer-crime prosecutor, said this is a "classic tacit collusion problem" by companies that do not want to compete on privacy and agree among themselves that "the less you know, the better." Yahoo's lawyers threatened Soghoian for disclosing its surveillance guidelines, alleging he had damaged Yahoo's "reputation for protection of user privacy and security, which is a competitive disadvantage for technology companies."

If only. We know what's in our Cheerios and retirement funds because the law requires disclosure. The market for privacy is broken and will stay that way until tech companies are obliged to say how they do and do not protect it.

## 90,000

Average annual  
government  
requests for  
Verizon's private-  
customer data



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(ONE AVERAGE  
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THE TRICK)

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THE STYLISH<sup>NEW</sup>  
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**TOYOTA HIGHLANDER.**

If there's one thing parents need to be, it's versatile. And with 50/50 split fold-flat third-row seating and available perforated leather-trimmed seats,\* the new Highlander is versatile...in a parental kangaroo kind of way. Learn more at [toyota.com/highlander](http://toyota.com/highlander)

Options shown. \*Leatherette third-row seat included with available leather-trimmed option.  
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 **TOYOTA**  
moving forward

# White House Memo

## The New Inner Circle.

### In a targeted makeover, Obama brings in Chicagoan Bill Daley and nods to Big Business

BY MICHAEL SCHERER

To hear White House aides explain it, Barack Obama's first White House staff was assembled on the fly. "There was no time to fine-tune," says Dan Pfeiffer, Obama's communications director. "We were bolting the wings on as we took off."

An overhaul was overdue. Senior aides began trading memos months ago about the missteps of the first two years. The list was long: Short-term tactics often obscured strategic goals. Too many people had overlapping responsibilities. Obama, surrounded by a surplus of true believers, lacked fresh perspectives. The economic team was riven by personality conflicts and hampered by a national economic adviser, Larry Summers, who behaved more like his own advocate than an honest broker. Other advice, whether it was from Cabinet Secretaries or the business community, was stifled before it could be heard.

The new lineup, Obama aides say, is designed to fix all that. David Plouffe, the former campaign manager, has returned as the new internal taskmaster, charged with bringing more discipline to communications, political

outreach and strategic planning. Gene Sperling, a former Clinton Administration official most recently at Treasury, won the job to replace Summers by promising to be more collaborative, particularly with business groups and the Cabinet. Sperling is a high-octane intellect who can get along with anyone, and he will find himself working with a coterie of Obama insiders, including Austan Goolsbee and Jason Furman, who have been promoted from within. More private-sector executives will come aboard soon as outside advisers in the hopes of diversifying White House policy discussions.

David Axelrod, whose reputation for political genius never included organization, will leave to begin working on the re-election campaign. Robert Gibbs, the press secretary, will resign after six years with Obama, choosing the job of outside campaign consultant over a senior-aidé position without a clear portfolio. Valerie Jarrett, who took flak for her outreach efforts to business, will remain in place with an eye to improving frayed relations. A new press secretary is expected to be named soon.

But Obama's biggest change was naming Bill

OUT  
Mona Sutphen  
Not announced



OUT  
Jim  
Messina  
2012  
campaign



IN  
Peter Rouse  
Senior  
adviser



OUT  
Rahm Emanuel  
Chicago mayoral  
candidate



IN  
Bill Daley  
Chief of  
staff



IN  
David Plouffe  
Senior  
adviser



National Security  
*After the rocky tenure of General James Jones, Tom Donilon has smoothed out the internal policy process*



IN  
Tom Donilon  
National Security  
Adviser



OUT  
James Jones  
Center for Strategic  
and International  
Studies

## Economic Team

The new crew of propeller-heads, including several Clinton Administration veterans, has vowed to be more inclusive



**OUT**  
**Christina Romer**  
University of California, Berkeley



**OUT**  
**Peter Orszag**  
Citigroup



**IN**  
**Gene Sperling**  
National Economic Council chair

**IN**  
**Austan Goolsbee**  
Council of Economic Advisers chair

**IN**  
**Jack Lew**  
Office of Management and Budget director

**IN**  
**Daniel Pfeiffer**  
Communications director

**IN**  
**Jen Psaki**  
Deputy communications director

**IN**  
**John Brennan**  
Counterterrorism adviser

## Communicators

The 2008 campaign team, now in its fourth year together, remains the core of Obama's media operation

**OUT**  
**David Axelrod**  
2012 campaign

**OUT**  
**Anita Dunn**  
Campaign consultant



**OUT**  
**Robert Gibbs**  
Campaign consultant

**IN**  
**Valerie Jarrett**  
Senior adviser



**IN**  
**Joe Biden**  
Vice President

## Anchors

Some things don't change. Jarrett and Biden remain advisers and protectors, while Brennan keeps an eye on terrorist threats



## Staff Shuffle

Obama has turned to familiar faces to restaff the West Wing's inner circle. They include Bill Daley, who hails from the Second City's most famous political clan

Daley, the son and brother of Chicago mayors and a long-time mentor to both Axelrod and Rahm Emanuel, to be his new chief of staff. Daley is matter-of-fact cool where Emanuel could be hot and, at times, heavy. Democrats and CEOs have turned to Daley for sound advice for decades; he is frank, funny and political down to his blunders. He is not known as an organizational whiz, but he is, in the words of one senior aide, "an adult" capable of getting the respect of the Washington tri-fecta: the press, the business community and Congress.

Compared with the sometimes dour Axelrod, Daley will be a better stand-in on TV and with the business community from which he comes and which widely praised his appointment. "This will free up the President a little more to focus on his vision," says the senior official. "We need to elevate the President." Daley is likely to announce that he will recuse himself from some issues he worked on for his former employer, JPMorgan Chase.

Obama and Daley aren't strangers to friction—or how to cut it. Years ago, Daley held a fundraiser for one of Obama's opponents in the U.S. Senate primary. He had the foresight to send Obama a handwritten note telling the future President that if he won the runoff, Daley would be the first guy in his corner. When the 2008 campaign began, that was quite literally the case. And now it's official. ■

# Lab Report

## Health, Science and Medicine



SECONDHAND SMOKE

### Hypertension in Kids? Yes, if Parents Smoke

THE HEALTH HAZARDS OF SMOKING ARE well known, and these dangers extend to nonsmokers exposed to the secondhand wisps of cigarette toxins as well. But researchers now report on a particularly worrisome problem—high blood pressure—emerging among a particularly worrisome population: children whose parents are smokers.

Compared with youngsters of nonsmoking parents, preschoolers exposed to secondhand smoke had a 21% greater chance of hypertension, defined as blood-pressure values in the top 15% for their age group. That's especially troubling, say experts, since high blood pressure in childhood can carry over into adulthood. And given that elevated blood pressure is a risk factor for heart disease and stroke, youngsters whose pressure is high early on may be more vulnerable to heart attacks later in life.

Protecting youngsters from passive smoke exposure may therefore have long-term health benefits—especially important in the U.S., where 26.8 million adults already have some form of heart disease.

## DATA SET

**158**

Estimated billions of dollars in U.S. cancer costs in 2020—a 27% increase from current expenditures for the disease

## SOCIAL MEDIA

**Even in remote island societies, mass media can have a powerful impact on health, thanks to the far-reaching effects of social networks. In a 2007 study of Fijian girls, those with TVs who were exposed to Western images of beauty were 60% more likely to have disordered eating habits. Even some of those without TVs admitted to dieting to change their body shape; they were responding to influences filtered to them through their network of TV-watching friends.**

## AUTISM

### Pregnancy Spacing May Play A Role in Autism

RESEARCHERS INTERESTED in understanding the myriad and complex causes of autism have recently been focusing their attention on genetic factors. But it turns out there may be another potentially powerful contributor: a mother's womb. Specifically, scientists have documented a threefold increase in autism among those born less than a year after a brother or sister.

The finding is rooted in reproductive biology. Pregnancy depletes necessary nutrients like folate, which is important for proper fetal development. Also, closely spaced pregnancies can increase the risk of low-birth-weight babies, who are more vulnerable to a range of health issues, from immature lung development to immunity challenges.

The study found that the risk of autism decreased as the length of time between pregnancies increased, suggesting that a replenished womb may be important in avoiding the developmental abnormalities of autism. But the authors caution against delaying pregnancy solely to avoid that risk. Older women who postpone childbearing may be in greater danger of having children with other disorders or birth defects and should weigh those risks against the study's results in their family planning.

## FROM THE LABS

### One-Stop Flu Shot?

A UNIVERSAL FLU VACCINE, which may be effective against a range of common influenza viruses, is in the works, thanks to survivors of the H1N1 pandemic. Those who were infected developed antibodies that can protect against numerous flu strains, so scientists are hoping to corral those immunological agents into an all-purpose flu shot.



### Blood Test for Alzheimer's

DETECTING THE FIRST SIGNS of a disease like Alzheimer's remains a frustratingly complex challenge. But it may soon be possible to diagnose the degenerative condition with a simple blood test. Scientists have isolated three blood molecules that bind to antibodies that are made by Alzheimer's patients but not made by healthy individuals. Still, more study is needed to bring the test to the clinic.

## DROWNING OUT DRILLS

Does the sound of the dentist's drill set your teeth on edge? Then you'll want to thank a group of researchers who came up with a device that cancels out the drill's whine. Plug your headphones and MP3 player into the sound-wave-eliminating system, and all you'll hear are your favorite tunes, minus the whir of the drill. Alas, the inventors are still seeking an investor to bring the system to market.

**55%**

Percentage that the risk of herpes is lowered in older adults vaccinated against herpes zoster, vs. those unvaccinated



# Verbatim

'I want to get one of those really sharp-looking jackets that rock-'n'-roll groups have ... It could say "The Apology Tour."

**HILLARY CLINTON**, U.S. Secretary of State, joking about her recent travels in which she has tried to mend relationships damaged by the publication of confidential cables by WikiLeaks

'All I knew was, the whistle wasn't blowing and my coach was saying, "Go!"'

**MICHAEL DYER**, Auburn University running back, whose near fall and 37-yd. run in the BCS title game set up the winning field goal on the final play; Auburn defeated Oregon 22-19, notching its first national championship since 1957

'We're not leaving if you don't want us to.'

**JOE BIDEN**, U.S. Vice President, indicating to Afghan President Hamid Karzai that the U.S. is willing to keep troops in the country beyond a planned 2014 security handover if their services are still needed

'The tumor is gone.'

**MICHAEL DOUGLAS**, actor, saying he believes he is cancer-free after undergoing treatment for a growth on his tongue

'The ATM machines were shown to be heavily contaminated ... to the same level as nearby public lavatories.'

**RICHARD HASTINGS**, a British microbiologist and part of a team that tested bacteria levels of ATMs and toilets in England

'Months before the Nazis launched their attack on the Soviet Union, they had nothing better to do than to obsess about this dog.'

**KLAUS HILLENBRAND**, historian, on newly discovered documents revealing that a Finnish mutt's ability to imitate the Nazi salute resulted in a German campaign against its owner

'Drilling offshore is a privilege to be earned, not a right to be exercised by private corporations.'

**BOB GRAHAM**, co-chair of the White House oil-spill commission, in the group's final report on the Deepwater Horizon disaster



## TALKING HEADS

### Ezra Klein

Analyzing John Boehner's first speech as House Speaker, in the *Washington Post*:

"Traditionally, politicians overpromise in these moments ... Boehner promised almost nothing at all. He certainly didn't set himself up as a foil to President Obama, or anoint himself leader of a new conservative moment ... Rather, his speech had two themes: Humility, and comity ... It was, I think, as smart a speech as I've seen a politician give ... The White House may have a more able opponent in him than they thought." —1/5/11

### Nick Earls

Describing the Australian response to the Queensland floods, in the *New York Times*:

"There is none of the clamor of disaster, none of the chaos one might expect. Crisis management plans have been activated ... Events like this flood not only show our stoicism, but create it. It's important to Queenslanders, like all Australians, that we see ourselves as people who look adversity in the eye, stare it down and band together to overcome it." —1/9/11

### Ryo Takahashi

On North Korea's human-rights violations, in the *Japan Times*:

"Beatings, torture and public executions for the pettiest and most trivial reasons are commonplace ... For citizens of North Korea, being killed by the state without reason is just business as usual ... Such a humanitarian crisis cannot be alleviated through 'strategic patience'—the strategy currently being adopted by the United States and other countries." —1/10/11

# Brief History

Playboy



**P**LAYBOY HAS LONG BEEN A PART OF THE AMERICAN man's private life. On Jan. 10, the magazine became a more private part of Hugh Hefner's life as the publication's founder announced plans to buy the remaining Playboy Enterprises stock he did not already own in a \$207 million deal. The purchase, he said, would allow the company to "return" to its roots" as a private entity.

Those roots took hold in 1953 in a Chicago apartment when Hefner set about starting his own magazine after being denied a \$5 raise as an *Esquire* copywriter. He raised \$8,000 (including \$1,000 from his mother) to produce *Playboy*'s first issue. The main hook: nude photos of Marilyn Monroe. It sold 54,000 copies, and the magazine was an instant hit. As its popularity grew, *Playboy* tried to maintain an air of sophistication, with fiction from authors like John Updike and Vladimir Nabokov bumping up against topless centerfolds. Despite helping spearhead the 1960s sexual revolution, *Playboy* felt the heat from newer, racier publications like *Penthouse* and, later, *Hustler*. Hefner briefly toyed with more explicit pictorials but chose to stick with a more tasteful approach. Heading into the 1970s, an estimated one-fourth of college men bought *Playboy*. The company went public in 1971, and the magazine's circulation peaked in 1972 at more than 7 million.

But those glory days are long gone. The proliferation of online pornography and upstart men's mags like *Maxim* and *FHM* severely weakened *Playboy*. Debt of \$115 million prompted Hefner's buyout of the company's stock. The brand has now shifted its energy toward licensing clubs, mansions and even bedsheetts around the world—especially in growing markets in Asia. Sure, it's a far cry from nudes and Nabokov, but Hef's betting the bunny never loses her appeal. —BY JOSH SANBURN

**Mr. Playboy** Hugh Hefner, the empire's founder, surrounded by a bevy of Bunnies in 1960

#### MORE THAN A PRETTY FACE



**1954** Ray Bradbury's dystopian book-burning novel *Fahrenheit 451* is serialized in the magazine

**1970** *Playboy* becomes the first men's publication to print a pictureless braille edition, utterly confounding many male readers



**1980** A revealing *Playboy* interview with John Lennon and Yoko Ono is on newstands when the former Beatle is shot and killed outside his home

**2005** *Playboy* enters the world of reality TV with *The Girls Next Door* on E!, starring Holly, Bridget, Kendra and Hef himself

#### THE SKIMMER



#### Alone Together

By Sherry Turkle  
Basic Books; 360 pages

**MIT PSYCHOLOGIST SHERRY TURKLE** has spent the past 30 years studying the way people interact with computers—and the past 15 years researching and writing this book. The work has paid off: nobody has ever articulated so passionately and intelligently what we're doing to ourselves by substituting technologically mediated social interaction—texting, e-mail, Twitter, Facebook—for the face-to-face kind.

Equipped with penetrating intelligence and a sense of humor, Turkle surveys the front lines of the social-digital transformation: girls who use software to make themselves look thinner in Facebook photos, children who watch their BlackBerry-addicted parents text their way through family dinners, robots designed to have emotional interactions with humans. There's no scolding here: Turkle never loses her empathic connection with people who are struggling to figure out the new rules. But she never loses her sense of what's at stake either. "Our problems with the Net are becoming too distracting to ignore," she writes. "We don't need to reject or disparage technology. We need to put it in its place."

—BY LEV GROSSMAN

READ  
SKIM  
TOSS

# Milestones



## Vang Pao

**HIS LIFE BEGAN IN THE LAOTIAN JUNGLE AND ENDED IN SUBURBAN CLOVIS, CALIF.** Along the way, Vang Pao, son of ethnic Hmong farmers, became a key, if controversial, American ally and the revered father of an exiled people.

Vang Pao, who died Jan. 6 at 81, led the "secret war" in

Laos: a covert, CIA-backed campaign against the country's Viet Cong-aligned forces. During the Vietnam War, he marshaled a corps of mountain fighters, some mere children, to disrupt the network of supply routes now known as the Ho Chi Minh Trail. Acknowledging Vang Pao's 15-year fight against Southeast Asia's communists, former CIA director William Colby once called him "the biggest hero of the Vietnam War."

But his trials did not end with the war. When Saigon fell, Vang Pao and the Hmong were all but abandoned by their American allies. Thousands were killed, and tens of thousands fled overland to camps in neighboring Thailand. (Many languish there still.) Vang Pao was among the lucky few to be resettled in the U.S., predominantly in towns in California, Minnesota and

Wisconsin. Their wartime role went unacknowledged until 1997, when the Clinton Administration honored their service with a ceremony and a small copper plaque.

A decade later, the aging general was arrested in California for allegedly plotting to overthrow Laos' government. Federal prosecutors charged Vang Pao and several colleagues with violating U.S. law by abetting Laotian anti-government agents—the very anticommunist cadres Washington had once funded. The case, which outraged some members of the Hmong community, was later dropped.

In late 2009, Vang Pao vowed he would return to Laos to broker peace between his people and the country's communist leaders; those leaders said they'd execute him if he tried. He, like so many of the Hmong, never got to go home. —BY EMILY RAUHALA



## Chinese Stealth Fighter

**UNVEILED** THE CHINESE military made sure that U.S. Defense Secretary Robert Gates was on Chinese soil as the J-20—it's first stealth aircraft—flew its maiden public flight Jan. 11. Chinese leaders maintained that the timing of the 15-minute hop was coinci-

dental. U.S. officials weren't so sure, and Gates expressed concern that the flight may reflect a split between Beijing's hard-line military and its less bellicose civilian leaders.

Gates also worries that Beijing's increased military spending on new arms will crimp U.S. operations in the western Pacific. A fleet of J-20s could be aloft within

several years (only the U.S. now flies operational stealth war planes), and a fledgling class of ship-killing missiles could doom U.S. plans to deploy aircraft carriers to defend Taiwan. China's stealth-fighter flight—which occurred as the U.S. is ending production of its current stealth fighter, the F-22, and scaling back its intended buy of the next-generation F-35—implies an even more aggressive posture.

While the J-20 has some experts worried, most aren't so alarmed. Because it's China's first stealth fighter, they note, there will be inevitable kinks to work out. And Beijing's continuing reliance on Russian components, especially jet engines, suggests that Chinese technology isn't always as cutting-edge as we may think.

—BY MARK THOMPSON

## Dick Winters

The men of Easy Company were there for D-Day, the Battle of the Bulge and the capture of Hitler's mountain retreat. They were led by the beloved and humble Dick Winters, who died Jan. 2 at 92. His unit of the 101st Airborne Division was the subject of Stephen Ambrose's best-selling book *Band of Brothers* and the 2001 HBO miniseries (produced by Steven Spielberg and Tom Hanks) of the same name.

**SENTENCED** More than five years after his indictment forced the former Republican Representative Tom DeLay of Texas to resign as House majority leader, the gavel came down on the Hammer. He was sentenced to three years in prison for conspiracy to commit money laundering and given 10 years' probation on a separate money-laundering charge. DeLay, 63, who began his congressional career in 1985, contends that his method of transferring funds to Texas legislature candidates in 2002 was legal. "I can't be remorseful for something I don't think I did," he said to the Texas state judge before the sentencing. DeLay is free on bail while he appeals the verdict. —BY ALEXANDRA SILVER





Fareed

# Zakaria

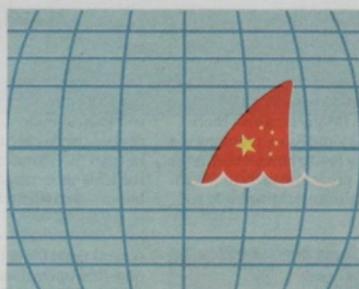
## The Chip on China's Shoulder. Its long-dormant army may be muscling into U.S.-Chinese relations. That can't be good

AT A RECENT DINNER DEVOTED TO U.S.-China relations, talk turned to the quarrel between China and Japan over the Senkaku Islands in the East China Sea. A prominent banker impatiently waved off the discussion. "America and China have more important things to talk about than a few rocks in the middle of the ocean," he said, proceeding to discuss the trade deficit. This is a profoundly mistaken understanding of international relations, though common in some business circles. The history of international conflicts is one of large, tectonic forces—like the rise of China—which cause fear, envy and resentment in other countries. Seemingly small, even trivial incidents can spiral into great-power competition and even war. Could anyone have predicted that a small crisis in Sarajevo would trigger World War I?

**Asia is booming because it is at peace,** with broad political stability. But China's rise is changing the structure of Asian geopolitics. Washington remains the most powerful political and military player in Asia and thus has a vital role in helping to manage this changing balance of power. Done right, it will make sure that disputes over a "few rocks in the middle of the ocean" don't turn into a new cold war in Asia with politicized trade pacts, arms races and proxy conflicts. That would be a very different Asia from the one we now see, an Asia considerably less interesting to bankers.

At one level, U.S.-Chinese relations are in good shape. Ever since Richard

Nixon, American Presidents have worked to integrate China into the international economic and political system. China, for its part, has seen its primary mission as economic development and has been cooperative, not competitive, with the U.S. The godfather of modern China, Deng Xiaoping, directed Beijing to adopt a strategy of humility and a tacit alliance with Washington in its external



relations. The grownups on both sides have seemed sensible.

But there are new pressures in the two countries urging a more combative relationship. You only have to listen to a congressional debate on China to understand the forces at work in the U.S. And yet it is in China, which is reputed to have the more controlled, rational and strategic decisionmaking system, where policy seems less predictable.

Over the past two years, China has dealt with the Obama Administration in a puzzling manner. Barack Obama came into office talking about the importance of great-power relationships and the supreme importance of strategic ties with China. He traveled to China and marked the trip by accommodating the Chinese in various symbolic ways. Despite all this, China has been distinctly combative toward Obama. It overreacted to his meeting with the Dalai Lama and a U.S. arms sale to Taiwan,

both predictable and routine events. It humiliated Obama at the Copenhagen climate-change conference. And on Jan. 10, while Secretary of Defense Robert Gates was in China, it refused to agree to senior military-to-military ties between Beijing and Washington. These actions could be viewed as a series of misperceptions, miscalculations and single events. But when taken along with China's new assertiveness in Asia, they suggest that there is a larger trend at work.

There is much speculation among China watchers as to what's causing this turn. It could be the change in leadership that will take place in 2012, or

the rise of a new, younger cadre of communist officials, or the importance of China's neoconservatives, or rising Chinese nationalism. Dai Bingguo, the man who is in effect China's Foreign Minister, recently wrote a 9,000-word essay setting out China's foreign policy and explicitly rejecting any talk of replacing or challenging American supremacy. This was a sign that the Communist Party still adheres to Deng's line of conciliation.

**But there is another center of power in China that might not see things in exactly this light.** The People's Liberation Army had always been a force within the Chinese system but was firmly subordinate to the party. From Mao Zedong to Deng, senior Chinese party leaders also had military credentials. For the past 15 years, this has not been true, and the PLA has been given larger budgets and greater autonomy. During his recent trip to China, when meeting with President Hu Jintao, Gates mentioned the Chinese military's test of its new stealth fighter. Hu appeared not to know about the test flight. The Chinese military, perhaps because of those budgets but also its ideological and strategic mind-set, seems to consider the U.S. as China's sworn enemy and to believe that a conflict between Beijing and Washington is inevitable. So the big question for U.S.-China relations right now is, Are the grownups really in charge? Specifically, does China's Communist Party control its military?

**The People's Liberation Army had always been a force within the Chinese system but was firmly subordinate to the party. For the past 15 years, this has not been true**

Very high triglycerides is a medical term for something serious:

# TOO MUCH FAT IN YOUR BLOOD.

Ask your doctor about the FDA-approved medication made from omega-3 fish oil: LOVAZA

If you have high cholesterol, diabetes or are overweight you may also have very high triglycerides ( $\geq 500$  mg/dL), which is a serious medical condition. LOVAZA, along with diet, has been clinically proven to lower very high triglycerides in adult patients. Individual results may vary. LOVAZA has not been shown to prevent heart attacks or strokes. It's purified. It's concentrated. And you can't get it at a health food store. Ask your doctor about LOVAZA—the prescription that starts in the sea.

LOVAZA is used along with a low-fat and low-cholesterol diet to lower very high triglycerides (fats) in your blood. Before taking LOVAZA, talk to your healthcare provider about how you can lower high blood fats by: losing weight if you are overweight, increasing physical exercise, lowering alcohol use, treating diseases such as diabetes and low thyroid (hypothyroidism), adjusting the dose or changing other medicines that raise triglyceride levels such as certain blood pressure medicines and estrogens.

#### Important Safety Information for LOVAZA

LOVAZA, along with diet, helps to lower very high triglycerides ( $\geq 500$  mg/dL) in adult patients. Tell your doctor if you are allergic to fish or shellfish as LOVAZA may not be right for you. Talk to your doctor about any medical conditions you have and any medications you are taking, especially those that may increase your risk of bleeding. In some patients, LDL (bad) cholesterol may increase. Your healthcare provider should do blood tests before and during treatment with LOVAZA to check your cholesterol and triglyceride levels. If you have liver disease, you may require additional monitoring. Possible side effects include burping, infection, flu-like symptoms, upset stomach and change in sense of taste. How supplied: 1-gram capsule

Please see important Patient Information on the next page.

You are encouraged to report negative side effects of prescription drugs to the FDA. Visit [www.fda.gov/medwatch](http://www.fda.gov/medwatch), or call 1-800-FDA-1088.

For more information,  
visit [LOVAZA.com](http://LOVAZA.com) or call 1-877-LOVAZA

  
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omega-3-acid ethyl esters

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Capsule shown not actual size

PATIENT INFORMATION  
LOVAZA® (ω-3-α-3)  
(omega-3-acid ethyl  
esters) Capsules



Read the Patient Information that comes with LOVAZA before you start taking it, and each time you get a refill. There may be new information. This leaflet summarizes the most important information about LOVAZA and does not take the place of talking with your doctor about your condition or treatment.

#### What is LOVAZA?

LOVAZA is a prescription medicine, called a lipid-regulating medicine, for adults. LOVAZA is made of omega-3 fatty acids from oils of fish, such as salmon and mackerel. Omega-3 fatty acids are substances that your body needs but cannot produce itself.

LOVAZA is used along with a low-fat and low-cholesterol diet to lower very high triglycerides (fats) in your blood. Before taking LOVAZA, talk to your healthcare provider about how you can lower high blood fats by:

- losing weight, if you are overweight
- increasing physical exercise
- lowering alcohol use
- treating diseases such as diabetes and low thyroid (hypothyroidism)
- adjusting the dose or changing other medicines that raise triglyceride levels such as certain blood pressure medicines and estrogens

#### Treatment with LOVAZA has not been shown to prevent heart attacks or strokes.

LOVAZA has not been studied in children under the age of 18 years.

#### Who should NOT take LOVAZA?

Do not take LOVAZA if you:

- are allergic to LOVAZA or any of its ingredients.

#### What should I tell my doctor before taking LOVAZA?

Tell your doctor about all of your medical conditions, including if you:

- drink more than 2 glasses of alcohol daily.
- have diabetes.
- have a thyroid problem called hypothyroidism.
- have a liver problem.
- have a pancreas problem.
- are allergic to fish and/or shellfish. LOVAZA may not be right for you.
- are pregnant, or planning to become pregnant. It is not known if LOVAZA can harm your unborn baby.
- are breastfeeding. It is not known if LOVAZA passes into your milk and if it can harm your baby.

Tell your doctor about all the medicines you take, including prescription and non-prescription medicine, vitamins, and herbal supplements. LOVAZA and certain other medicines can interact. Especially tell your doctor if you take medicines that affect clotting such as anticoagulants or blood thinners. Examples of these medicines include aspirin, nonsteroidal anti-inflammatory agents (NSAIDs), warfarin, coumarin, and clopidogrel (PLAVIX®).

#### How should I take LOVAZA?

- Take LOVAZA exactly as prescribed. Do not change your dose or stop LOVAZA without talking to your doctor.
- Your doctor should start you on a low-fat and low-cholesterol diet before giving you LOVAZA. Stay on this low-fat and low-cholesterol diet while taking LOVAZA.
- Your doctor should do blood tests to check your triglyceride and cholesterol levels during treatment with LOVAZA.
- If you have liver disease, your doctor should do blood tests to check your liver function during treatment with LOVAZA.

#### What are the possible side effects of LOVAZA?

The most common side effects with LOVAZA are burping, infection, flu symptoms, upset stomach, and a change in your sense of taste.

LOVAZA may affect certain blood tests. It may change:

- one of the tests to check liver function (ALT)
- one of the tests to measure cholesterol levels (LDL-C)

Talk to your doctor if you have side effects that bother you or that will not go away.

These are not all the side effects with LOVAZA. For more information, ask your doctor or pharmacist.

#### What are the ingredients in LOVAZA?

Active Ingredient:  
Omega-3-acid ethyl esters  
Inactive Ingredients: Gelatin,  
glycerol, purified water,  
alpha-tocopherol (in soybean oil)

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PLAVIX is a registered trademark of Sanofi-Synthelabo.

\*

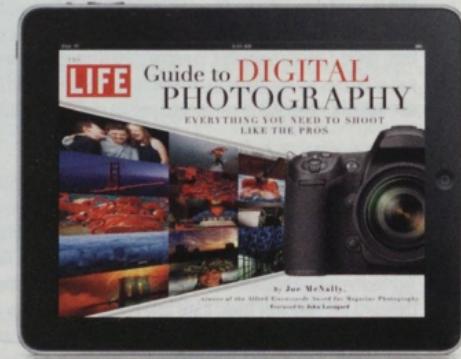
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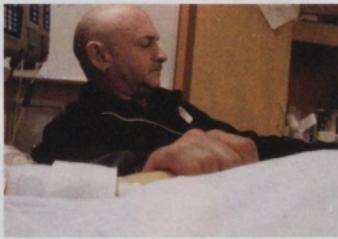
## Arms and the Unbalanced. Heated rhetoric doesn't help, but the real need is to reassess policy on guns and the mentally ill

I SHOULD START WITH A FEW WORDS about Gabrielle Giffords. She is a delight. I don't know her well—I've watched her campaign; we've had several conversations—but her warmth and avidity, her obvious decency, are immediately apparent to all who meet her, or, perhaps I should say now, all but one. She is a human refutation of the sordid stereotypes about politicians. She is neither cynical nor craven; her willingness to talk and think freely made her an instant favorite of mine. So it's distressing, and vaguely obscene, how quickly she almost disappeared in the media lather that was unleashed by her shooting. One of her last public acts was to read the First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution aloud. She was, apparently, delighted by that honor. The First Amendment guarantees freedom of speech. But, ironically, it was an argument about the limits and excesses of free speech that preoccupied the cable-news blowhards in the days after she was shot. This was a distressingly convenient argument, allowing the bravos of the right and left to retreat to their respective bunkers and begin firing spitballs.

**There are other, more practical, questions** to be discussed. Two are obvious: Given the flood tide of massacres perpetrated by crazy people, have we made a grievous error in our policies regarding the confinement of the mentally ill? The second question involves the right to bear arms: Are there any limits at all to our gun fetishism? These are both questions of liberty. Our current policies on both rep-

resent relatively recent victories by civil libertarians of the left and right.

There are an estimated 2.4 million schizophrenics in the U.S. Not all of them are violent, but a significant minority of them are. Until the 1950s, such people—at least, those so severely afflicted that they could not function in society—were confined to mental hospitals. These were terrible places. A combination of humanism, chemistry and frugality rendered



**Holding on** Giffords' husband, astronaut Mark Kelly, keeps vigil in her hospital room

them obsolete. It was believed that a new class of tranquilizing drugs could create behavioral miracles. Those sufferers who still needed care would be moved from the state hospitals to community treatment centers. But few communities were willing to house the treatment centers, and the drugs were not always effective. So all of a sudden, in the 1960s, the streets of most major cities were teeming with homeless people, the vast majority of them drug addicts, but a significant minority of them mentally ill. Many were both.

At the same time, there was a romanticization of mental illness. In books and movies like *One Flew over the Cuckoo's Nest*—a book Jared Lee Loughner listed as one of his favorites—and *King of Hearts*, insanity was depicted as an appropriate, almost countercultural, response to the crushing conformity of an immoral society. This zeitgeist and the skilled advocacy of lawyers from the American Civil Liber-

ties Union influenced a series of court cases that made it near impossible to commit mentally ill people to a secure facility without their permission, or even require them to have a psychological evaluation and accept a course of treatment. There has been some pushback in recent years, according to University of Virginia law professor John Monahan. "In some states, like New York, people who are identified as potentially dangerous are required to participate in a program of outpatient care and drug treatment," Monahan told me. That might have helped in Arizona.

As for gun control, a fever of excess has overtaken the country during the past 20 years. Even such a conservative stalwart as

Judge Robert Bork said, in 1989, that the Constitution's Second Amendment guaranteed "the right of states to form militias, not for individuals to bear arms." But the National Rifle Association has waged a disastrously effective campaign in favor of the latter position—and the Democratic Party has de-emphasized its traditional opposition. Even the right to bear assault weapons, which the founders couldn't have possibly anticipated, is now considered sacrosanct. In 2008 the Supreme Court ruled that local governments couldn't impose strict gun-control provisions. In Arizona, Loughner could simply walk into a gun store, buy his Glock and carry it about, concealed, without a permit. He could carry it into a bar, or a church. He carried it into a political rally. And used it.

**Beneath these two issues—treatment of the mentally ill and gun control—lies a deeper one:** Where does one draw the line between freedom and anarchy in a democratic society? According to Yale law professor Paul Gewirtz, "Our various legal rules, taken together, may be producing a society in which liberty is bordering on disorder." The libertarian tendency is deeply American, going back all the way to the Whiskey Rebellion. But it must be balanced against a civilized society's need for behavioral constraints, agreed upon by the consent of the governed. If the Arizona shootings point in any direction, it is toward reassessing the excessive liberties we've granted ourselves in recent years. ■

**In Arizona, Loughner could simply walk into a gun store, buy his Glock and carry it about, concealed, without a permit. He could carry it into a bar, or a church**

# 15 SECONDS

TO  
FIRE THE  
GLOCK

# 31 BULLETS

IN  
ONE CLIP

# 19 VICTIMS

WITH  
SIX  
KILLED

# 1 MADMAN AND A GUN

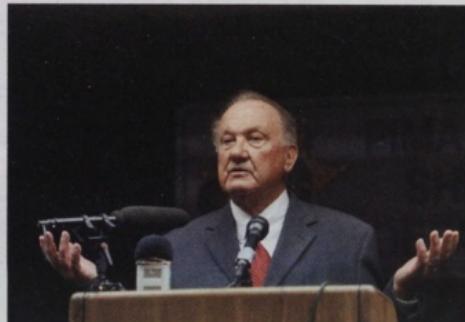
BY DAVID VON DREHLE



A tragedy in  
Tucson kills six  
and wounds 13,  
including moderate  
Congresswoman  
Gabrielle Giffords



**Crime scene** Law enforcement outside the Safeway where Representative Gabrielle Giffords held her constituents' forum



**Speaking out** Pima County Sheriff Clarence Dupnik decried extremist rhetoric, then was criticized for going too far

**S**O MUCH OF THIS STORY is ugly and twisted that it's best to begin with something beautiful and good. Christina Green is walking eagerly through a sun-splashed Arizona Saturday morning, a busy girl on her way to the next adventure. She is 9 going on 29, with mahogany bangs and one of those great third-grader smiles, with the grownup choppers looming in front and the baby teeth so teensy by comparison. She wants to be an adult "so bad," her babysitter has observed—but for now she's a just about perfect kid. She loves baseball and Beyoncé Knowles, and her daddy calls her Princess. For Christmas, she asked to volunteer at a soup kitchen.

To date, Christina has planned to make her living as a major league ballplayer, and you shouldn't count her out. She has the bloodlines: her grandfather, Dallas Green, managed the Phillies to a World Series title, and her father John is a scout for the Dodgers. And she has the grit. But recently her classmates at Mesa Verde Elementary elected her to the student council, which has inspired a family friend to introduce Christina to another possible career. That's why she's here, in the parking lot of La Toscana Village, a strip shopping center in Tucson's northern hills, where Representative Gabrielle Giffords is hosting a meet-and-greet with her constituents.

"My 1st Congress on Your Corner starts now," Giffords tweeted from her iPad two minutes before 10 a.m. "Please stop by to let me know what is on your mind." Two days earlier, when members of Congress took turns reading the Constitution on

the floor of the House of Representatives, Giffords was called on to recite the First Amendment, the one guaranteeing the right of Americans to peaceably assemble and petition their government. Now she is honoring those words.

Christina Green's big, chocolaty eyes take in this scene of government the way it's supposed to be, as accessible as the nearby Safeway. Giffords is a Democrat in a Republican-leaning district that is struggling with the divisive issues of immigration and border security. So this won't be a lovefest. Some of those peacefully assembling are there to tell Giffords how much they admire her, and some intend to give her a piece of their mind.

That's the way it's supposed to be. The way it is, day in and day out, in places all over this country. Rational exchanges among reasonable people with differing views. The scene is so routine, so mundane—the grocery store and the folding chairs and the elected official nodding attentively—that we lose sight of the wonder in it. But this is what normal looks like. Pay attention.

Because a taxicab has pulled into the parking lot, carrying a man who is at war with normal. And what he is about to do

will unleash other forces also at war with normal, people who are turning our politics into a freak show for their own cynical or sanctimonious reasons. Jared Loughner, wearing a hoodie and sunglasses and having got change from a Safeway cashier to pay the cabdriver, is now walking up to Representative Giffords and leveling a Glock 19 pistol at her head. The ugly and twisted part comes next.

### The Boy for Whom Things Went Awry

UP TO THIS MOMENT ON THE SIDEWALK outside the grocery store, Loughner's war against normal has been waged mostly inside his head. The symptoms and trajectory of his disease followed the classic pattern so completely that research psychiatrist E. Fuller Torrey could say, without ever meeting Loughner, that "chances are 99% that he has schizophrenia." Loughner was a nice, friendly boy, tooting his saxophone in the school band, until his mid-teens, when things began to go awry. He quit the band and began drinking heavily and doing drugs. He lost touch with his friends. "There were times when he would just hang out by himself, and you could tell he didn't want to be bothered by people," says Ashley Beager, a classmate at Mountain View High School. Eventually, Loughner dropped out of school.

Schizophrenia, if Loughner does indeed suffer from that mental illness, often strikes in the mid-to-late teens and is a harrowing disease. According to the National Institute of Mental Health, "people with the disorder may hear voices other people don't hear. They may believe other people are reading their minds, controlling their thoughts or plotting to harm them. This can terrify people with the illness and

## 'What is government if words have no meaning?'

—JARED LOUGHNER'S  
NONSENSICAL QUESTION TO  
REPRESENTATIVE GIFFORDS AT A  
2007 CONSTITUENTS' MEETING



**Memorial day** Ribbons and notes hang from a playground fence at the school attended by 9-year-old shooting victim Christina Green



**Silent tribute** President Barack Obama and First Lady Michelle lead a national moment of silence on the White House south lawn

make them withdrawn or extremely agitated. People with schizophrenia may not make sense when they talk. They may sit for hours without moving or talking. Sometimes people with schizophrenia seem perfectly fine until they talk about what they are really thinking."

By the time he turned 20, Loughner had begun to elaborate bizarre belief systems. He was a victim of government mind control, he believed. He could fight back by inventing a new currency. He could learn to dream while conscious, which would give him the power to fly. He could invent a new grammar that would reduce government to a mere word. It was this concept that led him to ask Representative Giffords, at an open meeting in 2007, "What is government if words have no meaning?" Giffords skipped lightly to the next question. Loughner was outraged that she didn't indulge his delusion. "He said, 'Can you believe it? They wouldn't answer my question,' and I told him, 'Dude, no one's going to answer that,'" Loughner's friend Bryce Tierney told reporter Nick Baumann of *Mother Jones* magazine. "Ever since that, he thought she was fake, he had something against her."

Note the date: 2007. George W. Bush was in the White House. Hillary Clinton was the front runner for the Democratic presidential nomination, some 30 points ahead of a freshman U.S. Senator named Barack Obama. And Sarah Palin, for what it is worth, was the little-known first-year governor of Alaska.

When Kylie Smith, a friend of Loughner's, met him at a party the following year, he told her that he was trying to get his life back in order. Tierney says his friend stopped drinking, cut back on the

weed, began working out. Loughner tried to enlist in the Army but was bounced after admitting to a history of dope smoking. His effort to pull himself together was a failure at Pima Community College as well, where Loughner's strange outbursts grew more frequent and his demeanor more unsettling.

"On the surface, at first, he seemed like a normal guy, until he started making some disruptive comments that were pretty random and senseless," says math professor Benjamin McGahee, who had Loughner in his algebra class last fall. "He started making students feel uncomfortable from the first day. He had this bright red complexion and kind of shaking and trembling as if he was under the influence of drugs."

Unnerved, a number of McGahee's students stayed after class to complain. McGahee tried to reason with Loughner, but it did no good. He just accused the teacher of violating his First Amendment rights. Other students continued to complain. Four weeks into the term, the college suspended Loughner, telling him that he could not return to class until he had a letter from a mental-health professional certifying that he was not dangerous.

He didn't return. But he did buy a gun.

### A Scene of Senseless Waste

THE FIRST BULLET STRIKES GIFFORDS IN the head, tunnels through the left side of her brain and exits. As the woman who would not answer his nonsensical question in 2007 slumps to the pavement, Loughner begins spraying 30 additional rounds into the crowd. Within a few seconds, 18 more people are wounded, six of them mortally. Christina Green

lies dying with a bullet in her chest.

Go ahead and cry. That's perfectly normal. Feel the disgust rise up as you contemplate the senseless waste of this scene. Ask, as any reasonable person would, why—nearly four years after the massacre at Virginia Tech, where 33 died, including the shooter—an obviously deranged college student can still fall so easily through the cracks, only to emerge with a gun in his hand.

What is not normal is the reaction of a relatively small but very loud and influential cabal of political commentators who immediately harvested Loughner's atrocity as fuel for their noise machine. In this volatile, digital age, it's impossible to summarize the entirety of this frenzied response, but let's consider just one tone-setting episode.

When news of the shooting broke, the name *Gabrielle Giffords* rang a loud bell inside the cabal. As a Democrat running for re-election in a Republican district, Giffords earned a spot last year on Sarah Palin's list of vulnerable enemies. Of course, Palin would never say anything as boring as "list of vulnerable Democrats." Instead, her staff posted a map of targeted districts on her Facebook page, each one marked with crosshairs, as though Palin were aiming her trusty rifle.

Normal people compile all sorts of to-do lists without using crosshairs, and Palin could too—but then she wouldn't be Palin. Exhorting her followers to "take up arms" and "reload" rather than "retreat," all with a broad smile on her face, is central to the brand that is making her rich and powerful. And when she's challenged, as she was last year by Giffords about those crosshairs hanging over her, Palin dances

away. "When we take up our arms, we're talking about our vote," she declared at a rally last year. Presumably "reload" means "participate in your precinct caucus."

When news of the Tucson shootings erupted, the memory of this episode sent a jolt through the anti-Palin wing of the cabal. Among the first to reach his keyboard was Markos Moulitsas Zuniga, dean of the left-wing bloggers, proprietor of Daily Kos online, who quickly fired a four-word flame that lit up the playpen: "Mission accomplished, Sarah Palin."

Rule one of the cabal is that anything worth stating is worth overstating. And the most outrageous overstatements set the tone for whatever conversation ensues. Other writers rushed to join in the hyperbole, blaming Palin or the Tea Party movement or the anti-immigration wing of the Republican Party. The event itself was of little interest—one influential writer, the *New Yorker's* George Packer, wrote that the actual bloodshed in Tucson was, "in a sense, irrelevant to the important point." Within hours, as Christina Green died and Giffords fought for her life, people all over cable news, and therefore all over the world, were buzzing about America's "climate of fear." And having staked out that ground, the cabal was not about to back down even as we learned that Loughner had no apparent connection to Palin or the Tea Party or border security—that he wasn't an expression of some dangerous new American norm. He was an unhinged young man at war with normal.

### Dramatizing the Trivial

MEANWHILE, WE LEARNED THAT SARAH Palin wasn't the only person who made Giffords a "target" in 2010 and put "a bull's eye" on her district in an online posting. Moulitsas did too—after Giffords joined a bunch of other Democrats in voting for a surveillance bill he didn't like. True, he didn't illustrate his list with crosshairs—or "surveyor's marks," as a Palin spokesperson argued implausibly after the shootings. But the metaphors were the same. This was a clarifying moment, for rarely have we seen the workings and values of this influential cabal so nakedly exposed. Right or left, their genius is for dramatizing trivial things; there is no other way to remain outraged 24/7. Now they were tripped up as they trivialized dramatic events. When a left-wing catalyst is caught denouncing a right-wing darling

for an offense they both committed—an offense of distortion and exaggeration—their game starts to unravel. You see that it's not one side against the other. It's both sides against the normal.

Take a moment to ask why Moulitsas and Palin, who agree on almost nothing, would be united in targeting Giffords. The first reason is that she refuses to indulge their shared delusion that the U.S. would be a better place if it were run by ideologues. She is a person of moderate views and pragmatic politics, able to listen respectfully to the opinions of others and disagree without being disagreeable, which places her squarely in the American mainstream. She doesn't vote in lockstep with either party, and thus neither extreme is willing to tolerate her.

**How, it is fair to ask,  
can an obviously  
deranged college  
student fall so easily  
through the cracks,  
only to emerge with  
a gun in his hand?**

## The Victims. Normal folk caught in a



**Christina Green**

Just 9 years old, Green was a newly elected member of her school's student council, played second base in Little League and loved music, dance and swimming.



**John Roll**

The 63-year-old was the center of his community. Appointed by President George H.W. Bush, he had served as chief judge of the U.S. District Court of Arizona since 2006.



**Phyllis Schneck**

The 79-year-old great-grandmother retired to Arizona from New Jersey. She was active in her church and a regular volunteer.

The other reason she and others like her end up as targets is that they represent districts that accurately reflect the divided mind of the American electorate. Elected officials in swing districts are always in danger of losing, and when one of them does, the creators of the target lists can boast of their fearsome power. It's like standing on a beach as the tide turns and claiming to control the ocean.

Like the Wizard of Oz, the cabal's entire authority hinges on this ability to exaggerate its power. Their numbers are, in fact, relatively small. The audience for the most popular talk-radio show is perhaps 1 in every 20 Americans. On cable TV, the most watched political pot stirrer draws roughly 1 out of every 100 Americans. As for Daily Kos, on an average day you would have to search through about 450 Americans to find one who had visited the site.

Informed and insightful political commentary has never been more abundant and easily available, thanks to the Internet. Yet the voices of the sensationalists are louder than ever. They tell us we live in a climate of fear despite all evidence to the contrary—the many peaceable assemblies, the nonviolent transfers of power, the freedom to speak and dissent without risk of punishment. It is a climate of their

## moment of horror



**Gabe Zimmerman**  
Giffords' director of outreach since 2006, Zimmerman was a social worker and an avid runner. The 30-year-old loved history and travel and was engaged.

**Dorothy Morris**  
"Dot" Morris, 76, moved to Arizona from Reno, Nev., with her high school sweetheart. They were married for 55 years.

**Dorwan Stoddard**  
When the shooting started, Stoddard, a 76-year-old former construction worker, shielded his wife from the spray of bullets. The loyal Wildcats fan volunteered at church daily.

own creation, ginned up on both extremes for the purpose of keeping their audiences in a state of perpetual alarm.

Delusion is their business. They babble about bizarre alternate realities in which right-wing fanatics terrorize the land or a socialist in the White House plots to overthrow the Constitution. Theirs is a world in which Christopher Ruddy, prime fabulist of the Vince Foster "murder," sets up shop as a "news" mogul, and David Brock, confessed smear artist, pontificates on media ethics, and Glenn Beck, self-described "rodeo clown," masquerades as a historian, and Roger Ailes, the Fox News chief, issues an appeal for reasoned discourse just weeks after saying that NPR executives are "Nazis."

The events of the past week should awaken us to the danger of further indulging their delusions. Heeding the cabal entails serious consequences for normal Americans. When the cabal is allowed to define political reality, the result is dysfunctional government: A government in which extremists in both parties have created a perpetual shortage of federal judges by blocking nominations. A government that can't pass its appropriations bills or reform its broken entitlement programs. A government run by the sort of conniving operatives who can contemplate those

bodies on the Tucson pavement and ask themselves—as one unnamed Democrat mused to Politico—how they can "deftly pin this on the Tea Partiers."

### How Normal Fights Back

WHEN DORWAN STODDARD HEARD THE explosions, he needed only a moment to realize it was gunfire. He told his wife Mavy to take cover under some folding chairs, then threw himself on top of her. His body absorbed the fatal shots. George Morris, a retired Marine who loves a robust political argument, tried to do the same for his wife Dorothy. He took two bullets, but not the one that killed her. John Roll, the chief judge of the U.S. District Court in Arizona, had dropped by to thank Giffords for her support of the overstretched judiciary. Now he lay dying, along with Gabe Zimmerman, the Congresswoman's smiling director of community outreach, and Phyllis Schneck, a lifelong Republican who wanted to say a few admiring words to her Democratic Representative.

All casualties in a war on normalcy. But now watch what the normal folks do. As Loughner nears the end of his extended ammunition clip, an unidentified man in the crowd stands up beside the rampaging gunman, grabs a folding chair and smashes it across Loughner's back. As the

gunman staggers, his left hand flies out, and Bill Badger, a retired U.S. Army colonel, grabs it and twists. "Bill is a man of action," his wife later explained.

Badger has blood streaming from a head wound as he shoves the killer to the ground. Screaming and thrashing, Loughner digs in his pocket for another clip, but Patricia Maisch, who had been wondering a split second earlier what it would feel like if a bullet hit her, snatches the ammo and pries it from his grip. And now a looming doctor named Steve Rayle throws himself onto Loughner's midsection, and burly Joseph Zamudio comes dashing up from Walgreens and falls on Loughner's flailing legs. "I didn't think about it," Zamudio said afterward. "I just heard something and tried to help."

The shooting is over.

Nearby sits Daniel Hernandez, a young intern for Giffords. He was directing traffic when he heard the first shots. He ran toward the danger, figuring that his first-aid training would be needed. He arrived to find Giffords horribly wounded, in danger of choking on her own blood, and now is holding her upright in his lap and soothing her as he presses his hand onto her shattered face to stem the bleeding. She seems to know what is happening—which is, among other things, that this young man is saving her life.

"Of course you're afraid," Hernandez mused later. "You just kind of have to do what you can."

How many times have we heard this story? The one about people rising to the occasion, storming the cockpit of the hijacked jet, racing into the burning building, tackling the gunman, saving a life. They hear something and try to help. Of course they're afraid, but they just have to do what they can. This is how normal fights back, by rejecting fear and finding courage.

Christina Green's birthday was Sept. 11, 2001. Like all 9/11 babies, she entered this world as a ray of hope on a dark, dark day. Her short life was radiant with possibility and promise. Her death, and everything wrought that day by Jared Loughner, was senseless and wrenching—but in no way was it an expression of what we've become. Don't let anyone tell you it is.

—WITH REPORTING BY ALEX ALTMAN AND KATY STEINMETZ/TUCSON, CLEO BROCK-ABRAHAM/NEW YORK AND MASSIMO CALABRESI, STEVEN GRAY AND MARK THOMPSON/WASHINGTON

# A MIND UNHINGED

**Suspect Jared Loughner seems to have broken with reality before the Tucson shootings. But did political rhetoric push him over the edge? Psychological research shows that's highly unlikely**

BY JOHN CLOUD

**N**avigating the cluttered corridors of Jared Loughner's mind will take psychiatrists months or years. We will likely never know all the reasons he took a cab to that Safeway on Jan. 8, paid with a \$20 bill, calmly got his change and then killed six people and wounded 14 others.

But snapshots of his life are accumulating from acquaintances and his few friends. (His parents issued a short statement of apology, but they are said to be too distraught to speak about their son.) These snapshots depict a quiet, normal boy who had grown into a man descending steadily into serious mental illness. A partisan, highly non-scientific debate has erupted over whether extreme right-wing rhetoric could have inflamed whatever illness he may have and caused him to target Democratic Representative Gabrielle Giffords. We don't know the answer, but psychological research suggests that political rhetoric could never be the single cause that leads a person with complex mental problems to commit violence.

## Case History

PINPOINTING THE PRECISE MOMENT A MENTALILLNESS takes root is guesswork at best. As a young man, Loughner seemed ordinary enough—occasionally withdrawn, as all teens can be, and a little nerdy. He loved music and played the sax well. A classmate who had known him since elementary school, Ashley Buysman, says that when she heard the charges against him, "it just blew my mind."

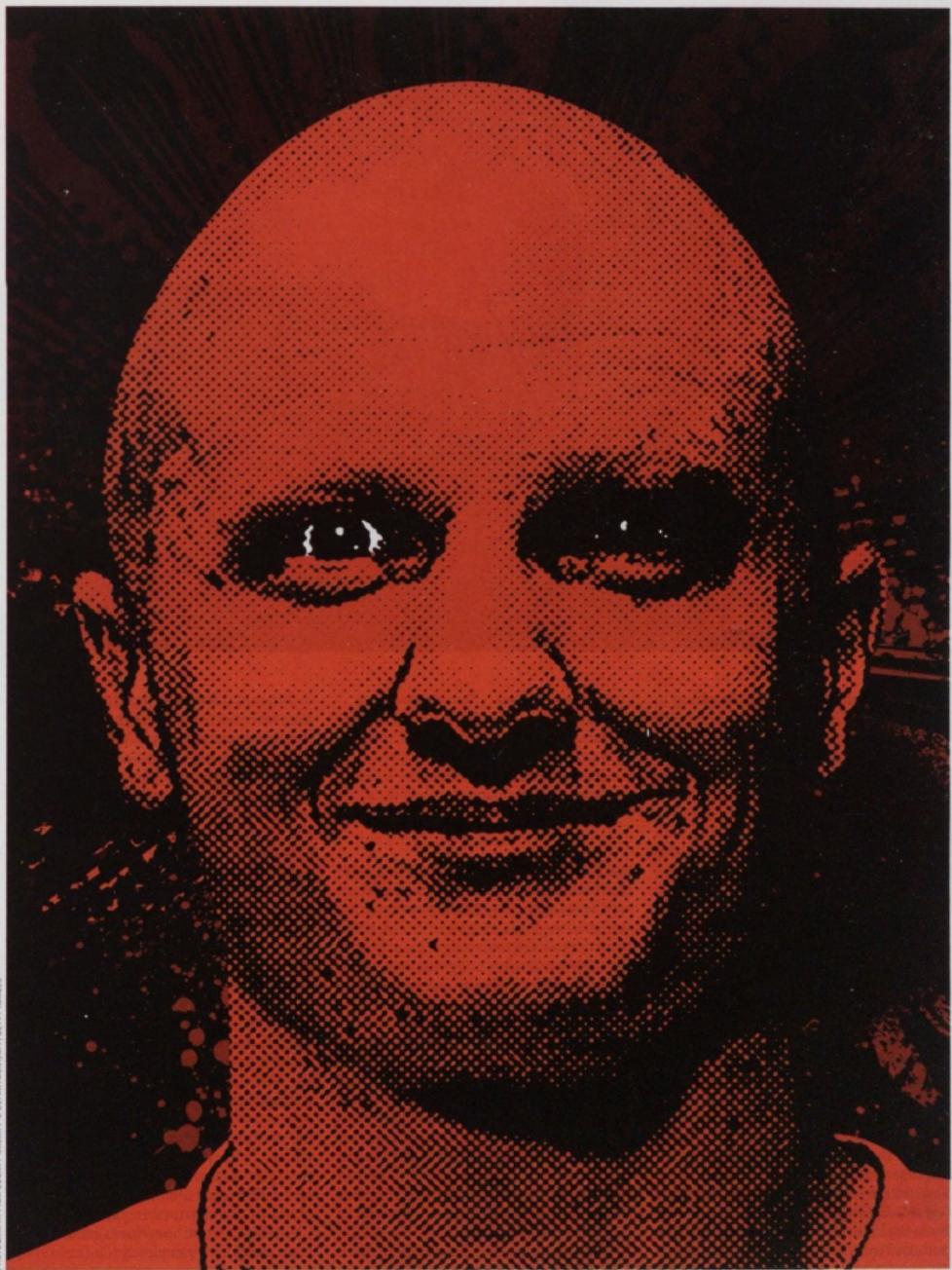
But a darkness began massing around Loughner sometime after he dropped out of Mountain View High School in Tucson, Ariz., before his senior year. He started drinking a lot, according to Kylie Smith, who had known him since preschool. She lost contact with him between 2006 and 2008 and was stunned by how much he had changed. "He seemed out of it, like he was somewhere else," she says. "I could tell he wasn't just drunk and he wasn't just high."

Was a psychiatric illness beginning? Maybe, but it's difficult to tell, because Loughner had by then used a lot of drugs—not just pot but also hallucinogens like acid, according to Smith. It was at about this time that Loughner did something odd: he worked out for months so he could join the Army. Yet after traveling to the military processing station in Phoenix, he told an Army official that he smoked marijuana excessively—which meant he would never be accepted. The weird part: he actually passed a drug test that day, so he had not been using for at least a couple of weeks.

Loughner's behavior became increasingly erratic after the Army incident. Friends say he would occasionally speak in random strings of words. He had run-ins with police over drugs and his vandalization of a street sign. He became paranoid that the government was trying to control him—or everyone. He couldn't keep jobs at Quiznos and an animal shelter because he wouldn't—or could no longer—follow instructions.

When classes began at Pima Community College last year, Loughner's behavior frightened fellow students from Day One. "He had

**Infamous mug shot**  
It's difficult to say what kind of mental illness he may be suffering from or whether drugs and even his dreams played a role in his behavior



PHOTOGRAPH: YIMA COUNTY SHERIFF'S DEPARTMENT/AP/WIREIMAGE

Illustration by Sean McCabe for TIME



this hysterical kind of laugh, laughing to himself," says Benjamin McGahee, his math professor. He would say nonsensical things about "denying math." Says McGahee: "One lady in the back of the classroom said she was scared for her life, literally."

### **Such Stuff as Dreams**

IT SEEMS CLEAR THAT LOUGHNER WAS developing a mental illness, but which one? Many signs point to one of the psychotic disorders—delusional disorder, say, or schizophrenia, for which the average age of onset is roughly 20, about when Loughner started showing symptoms. The *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders* includes "substance-induced psychotic disorder," which is also a possibility in Loughner's case.

By several accounts, Loughner had become fascinated with lucid dreaming, a dream state you can enter when you're half asleep. You are aware while you're in that state that you're dreaming. Loughner's interest in his lucid dreams is significant, because last year the European Science Foundation reported that lucid dreaming "creates distinct patterns of electrical activity in the brain that have similarities to the patterns made by psychotic conditions."

### **Loughner's home**

*Neighbors say the Tucson family kept to itself. Since the shooting, Jared's parents have been too distraught to leave*

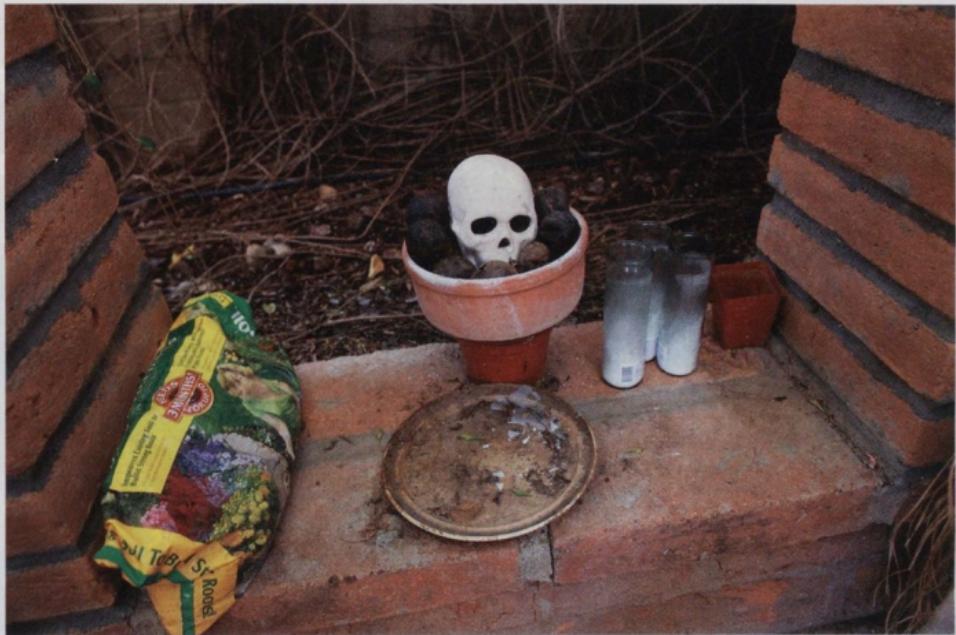
Loughner's drug use could have kept him from falling into deep sleep and encouraging lucid dreaming. The European group said paranoid delusions can occur when lucid dreams are replayed repeatedly after the subject wakes up. Loughner was replaying his lucid dreams in an extensive dream journal, according to his friend Bryce Tiersen, who spoke with *Mother Jones* magazine.

So, what about political rhetoric? If Loughner had developed a psychotic condition, such rhetoric might have sounded more extreme to him than it really was, according to Jeffrey Swanson, a psychiatry professor at Duke University School of Medicine. "Take something you or I might find mildly threatening. For the person with impaired perception of reality, that can get exaggerated to the point of being incredibly threatening."

We also know that delusional patients

in different cultures have different kinds of misperceptions of the world. One study, by the Tokyo Metropolitan College of Allied Medical Sciences, compared schizophrenic delusions among patients in Tokyo and Vienna and found that European patients tended toward fantasies about poisoning and odd religious ideas, while the Japanese had delusions that they were being "slandered," which the authors surmise "may derive from the group-oriented self in Japanese 'shame culture.'" Such studies suggest that the broader culture—which would include the political climate—could affect the content of a psychotic person's delusions, including what or whom the person perceives as threats.

But those who say right-wing rhetoric was the one factor tipping Loughner misunderstand the complex nature of psychosis. "No single variable explains violence in schizophrenia," write Swanson and eight colleagues in a 2006 paper published in the *Archives of General Psychiatry*. "Rather, violent behavior occurs within a social-ecological system involving a 'whole person' with a particular life history and state of health." In short, saying Sarah Palin or Glenn Beck caused Loughner's actions is, to put it charitably, completely idiotic.



## Looking for Risk Factors

AT SOME POINT, LOUGHNER DID SOMETHING few people with psychotic disorders do: he began buying guns and planning violence. Last year he bought a shotgun from Sportsman's Warehouse in Tucson. On Nov. 30, he went back and purchased the Glock he used in the Safeway massacre.

Many people are blaming mental illness for the massacre, but a more reliable set of predictors of violent crime are age (arrests for violent crime peak at about 18), gender (each year men commit roughly 80% of the violent crimes in the U.S.), lower socioeconomic status and history of arrest. (Loughner fits all four.) Still, Swanson's data show that the lifetime prevalence of violence in those with schizophrenia or a mood disorder is 33%, compared with 15% for those with no major disorder. Combine schizophrenia or a mood disorder with substance abuse and the prevalence soars to 65%. One reason is that psychotics and addicts exhibit a high level of what psychologists call arousal; they get agitated very easily.

Psychiatrists who treat Loughner will look for other risk factors that predict violence aside from (and better than) psychosis: childhood abuse, alcoholic parents and, again, heavy drug use. And

## Backyard shrine?

*This creepy tableau, complete with a replica human skull, sits inside a camouflage tent behind the Loughner home*

the rest of us will wonder whether more could have been done to recognize Loughner's warning signs before he got to that Safeway. According to the American Association of Community Colleges, most of the nation's nearly 1,200 community colleges do not employ a psychologist to treat troubled students. Virtually all have campus counselors, but their level of training varies.

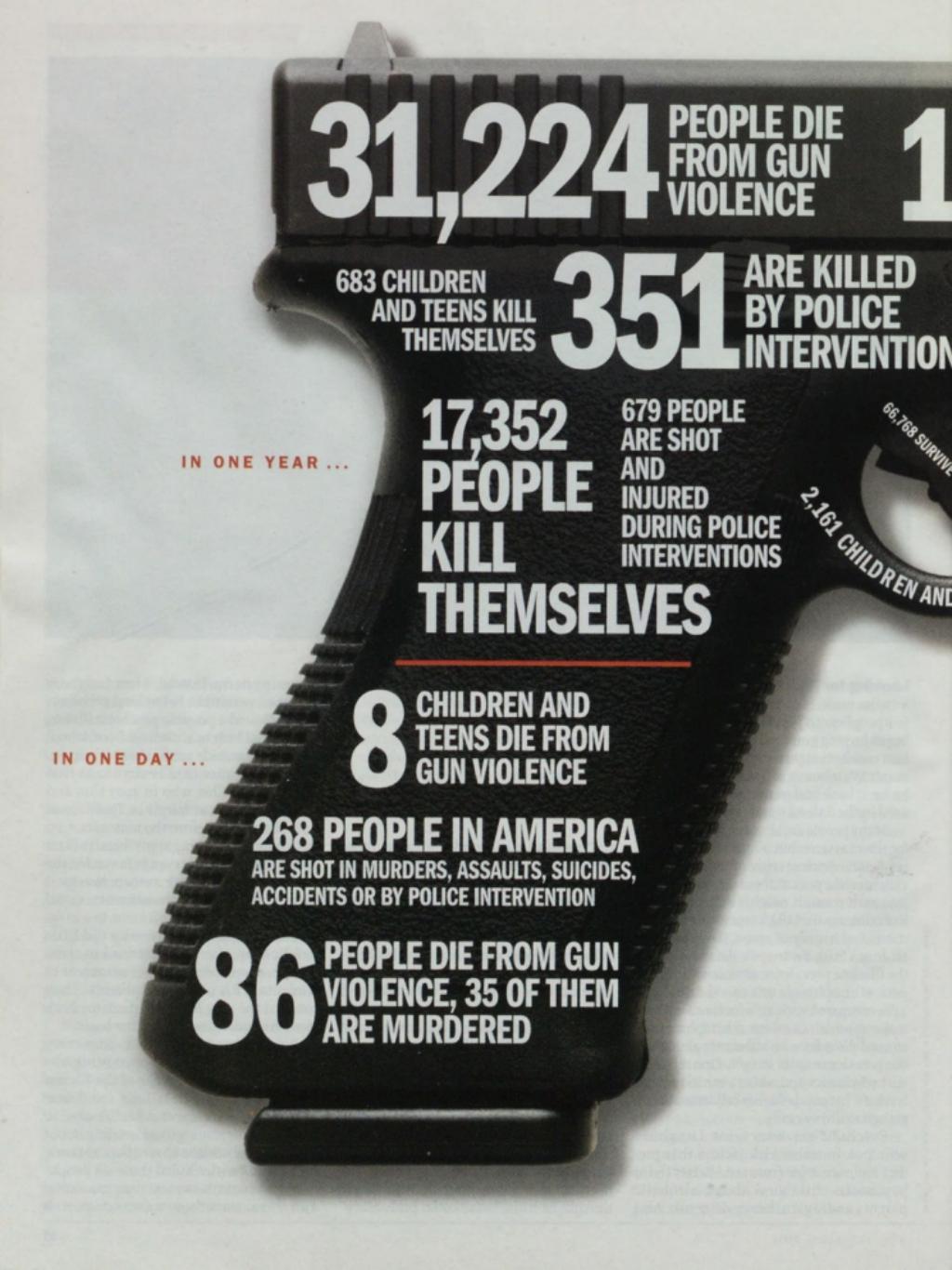
Still, one imagines that someone at Pima Community College should have responded more directly to Loughner's warning signs: the paranoia, the jumbled speech, the scary outbursts. According to Charles Arnold, an Arizona attorney who specializes in the state's mental-health laws, the college had a legal responsibility to refer Loughner to authorities for possible commitment to an institution if officials there thought he had a "substantial probability"

of causing harm. Instead, when Loughner displayed persistent behavioral problems that indicated a possible psychotic illness, Pima asked him to withdraw from school until he got outside mental-health help.

The Loughner case is similar to that of Seung Hui Cho, who in 2007 shot and killed 32 people at Virginia Tech. For at least 18 months before the massacre, Cho had shown disturbing signs: bizarre class essays that included revenge fantasies; the stalking of at least three women; near total silence, including with roommates; and even involuntary commitment to a mental institution. The university did little to follow up after Cho returned to class. Schools should devote more resources to students with obvious problems. They could, at the very least, ask them to check in with counselors on a regular basis.

It will never be possible to stop every unhinged person from committing awful crimes. But in the wake of the Tucson tragedy, we should be talking about how to provide more mental-health care to those who display signs of needing it, not having a debate about whether rhetoric on TV and Twitter killed those six people.

—WITH REPORTING BY MASSIMO CALABRESI AND MARK THOMPSON/WASHINGTON



**31,224** PEOPLE DIE  
FROM GUN VIOLENCE

683 CHILDREN  
AND TEENS KILL  
THEMSELVES

**351** ARE KILLED  
BY POLICE  
INTERVENTION

IN ONE YEAR ...

**17,352**  
**PEOPLE**  
**KILL**  
**THEMSELVES**

679 PEOPLE  
ARE SHOT  
AND  
INJURED  
DURING POLICE  
INTERVENTIONS

IN ONE DAY ...

**8** CHILDREN AND  
TEENS DIE FROM  
GUN VIOLENCE

**268** PEOPLE IN AMERICA  
ARE SHOT IN MURDERS, ASSAULTS, SUICIDES,  
ACCIDENTS OR BY POLICE INTERVENTION

**86** PEOPLE DIE FROM GUN  
VIOLENCE, 35 OF THEM  
ARE MURDERED

66,768 SURVIVE

2,162 CHILDREN AND

**2,632** PEOPLE ARE MURDERED  
**3,067** CHILDREN AND TEENS DIE FROM GUN VIOLENCE  
MORE THAN **100,000**  
PEOPLE IN AMERICA ARE SHOT IN MURDERS, ASSAULTS, SUICIDES, ACCIDENTS OR BY POLICE INTERVENTION

GUN INJURIES

TEENS ARE MURDERED

643 PEOPLE ARE KILLED ACCIDENTALLY

**L**IKE THEM OR NOT, GUNS ARE AS American as covered wagons and the infield-fly rule. The revolutionaries and pioneers who forged the nation and peopled its wilderness really did cling to their guns as tenaciously as they clung to their religion. And while modern cosmopolitans may be shocked by the gun violence in this country—the worst among wealthy nations by far—well, that's an American tradition too.

Gun control is not. The mayhem in Tucson has revived a debate over America's gun culture that resurfaces every time some lunatic overexercises his right to bear arms. How could Jared Loughner be considered too dangerous to attend community college but not too dangerous to buy a Glock? Why are we allowed to pack heat at a Safeway when we can't pack shampoo in our carry-ons? Does the Second Amendment really protect our right to a magazine that holds 30 bullets? It's a necessary debate, but in the political

arena, at least, the results are consistently lopsided. As National Rifle Association executive vice president Wayne LaPierre proclaimed two years ago, the guys with the guns make the rules.

Arizona, with its Old West heritage, has been at the forefront of the gun-rights movement. Last year, it passed a law making it the third state—after predominantly rural Vermont and Alaska—to allow citizens to carry concealed weapons without a permit. Another law allows Arizonans to carry guns in bars, as long as they're not drinking. The vast majority of the state's politicians—including Loughner's primary target, Congresswoman Gabrielle Giffords, a Democrat and gun owner—are strong Second Amendment supporters. Congressman Trent Franks, a Republican and gun owner, points out that Arizona has a much lower gun-violence rate than Washington, D.C., which has much more restrictive gun laws. "Criminals always prefer unarmed victims," Franks says. There

Sources: Brady Campaign to Prevent Gun Violence; CDC. Data on deaths are for 2007; data on injuries are for 2009

THE TUCSON TRAGEDY

# FIRE AWAY

You might think attacks like the one in Tucson would lead to tougher gun restrictions. But you'd be dead wrong

BY MICHAEL GRUNWALD



**Bull's-eye** A target range near Tucson. Most Americans support limiting the availability of assault weapons

have been no reports out of Arizona of any credible push for new gun restrictions; in fact, several reports show citizens are flocking to gun shops to increase their firepower.

Unfortunately, the gun-rights vision of well-armed citizens shooting down an outlaw like Loughner midrampage did not come true in this case. Nationally, less than 1% of all gun deaths involve self defense; the rest are homicides, suicides and accidents. In a study of 23 high-income countries, the U.S. had 80% of the gun deaths, along with a gun homicide rate nearly 20 times higher than the rest of the sample. Still, the gun-control movement has gotten little political traction outside selected major cities, and all but three states have laws that invalidate local gun restrictions. According to the NRA, 25 states have adopted "your home is your castle" laws that give homeowners wide latitude to shoot people on their property without fear of prosecution, and only 10 states prohibit or severely restrict the carrying of firearms in public.

In recent years, despite periodic spasms of attention after mass killings like those at Columbine and Virginia Tech, gun control has made no headway at the federal level either. It's telling that a progressive Chi-

ago Democrat like President Obama—a longtime gun-control advocate whose election inspired fervent warnings about Big Government's confiscating firearms—has carefully avoided the topic in the White House. He even signed two laws that included provisions expanding gun access, one in national parks and one on Amtrak trains. If he objected to the provisions, he kept his objections to himself. A Brady Campaign to Prevent Gun Violence report gave Obama an F for leadership on gun control. "We haven't seen a lot of political courage on this issue," says Brady Campaign president Paul Helmke, a former Republican mayor of Fort Wayne, Ind. "Republicans march in lockstep with the NRA, and Democrats are scared to death."

Modern gun politics can be traced to a brief flurry of federal restrictions set early in Bill Clinton's presidency. In 1993, Con-

gress passed the Brady Bill, requiring licensed gun dealers to perform background checks to keep guns away from would-be buyers with felony records or histories of dangerous mental illness. And in 1994, Clinton's crime bill included a 10-year ban on many assault weapons and huge magazines, which seem to be designed more for gangbangers than sportsmen. But the Republican electoral sweep that November persuaded many Democrats that anti-gun stances were politically toxic in many swing districts and reflected a kind of elitist, wine-rack, city-slicker mentality that condescended to working-class, beer-track rural voters. It suggested an ignorance of values shared by millions of Americans who like guns for reasons that have nothing to do with economic insecurity and recent gun restrictions for reasons that have nothing to do with paranoia.

On the Republican side, George W. Bush vowed to extend the assault-weapons ban in 2000 when he was running as a "compassionate conservative" and was keen to tailor his appeal to suburban moms. But he allowed the ban to expire in 2004 after shifting his focus to the GOP base. When Democrats took back Congress in 2006—thanks in part to a new wave of pro-gun candidates like Giffords,

who was recruited by a former Clinton aide turned Illinois Congressman named Rahm Emanuel—the ban did not return. Obama has made no effort to revive it, even though he talked about gun restrictions during the campaign; Attorney General Eric Holder, who called for renewing the ban early in 2009, swiftly walked it back, and the Administration's rhetoric since has echoed NRA talking points about enforcing gun laws already on the books.

The NRA remains incredibly influential, but it isn't omnipotent. In 2008, it spent millions bashing Obama in several states, almost all of which he won anyway. In 2010, 27 NRA-endorsed Democrats lost, while all but two Democrats who had cosponsored gun-control legislation were re-elected. The NRA has been uncharacteristically muted since the massacre, merely offering condolences to the victims. And polling data suggest that Americans support at least some gun restrictions—requiring background checks for all gun sales, requiring a waiting period and limiting sales of assault weapons. Helmke hopes the attack on one of their own will finally galvanize members of Congress into action, if for nothing else than to reinstate the ban on magazines with over 10 rounds. If that law had been in place Jan. 8, Loughner might have gotten off 20 fewer shots.

Still, it's never wise to bet against the NRA, especially now that Republicans control the House. The Second Amendment is pretty clear about the right to bear arms, although scholars argue about that "well-regulated militia" clause, and the Supreme Court has invalidated blanket handgun bans. Meanwhile, the NRA has done a brilliant job persuading some gun owners and many politicians that even modest restrictions represent ominous steps toward tyranny. But the court has suggested that less draconian gun regulations are perfectly constitutional, and some politicians have searched for middle ground on an issue dominated by macho hands-off-my-gun posturing and maudlin think-of-the-children appeals.

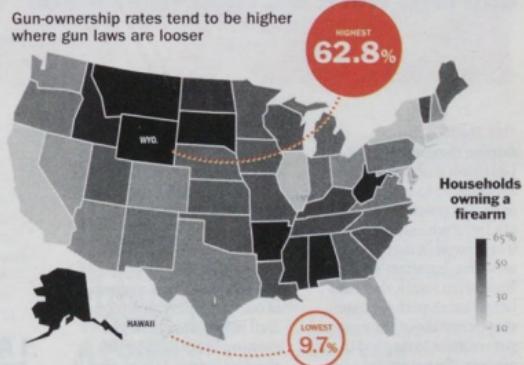
One of those politicians is now recovering from head trauma at Tucson's University Medical Center. It has become well known that Giffords owns guns and that she filed a friend-of-the-court brief opposing a handgun ban in Washington. It is less well known that as a state legislator, she favored restrictions on guns in Arizona. Her NRA grade was a D. "She told me she believed in the Second Amendment," Helmke says, "but she also believed in being reasonable. Maybe now that it's personal, Congress will as well." —WITH REPORTING BY JAY NEWTON-SMALL ■

## Guns in America

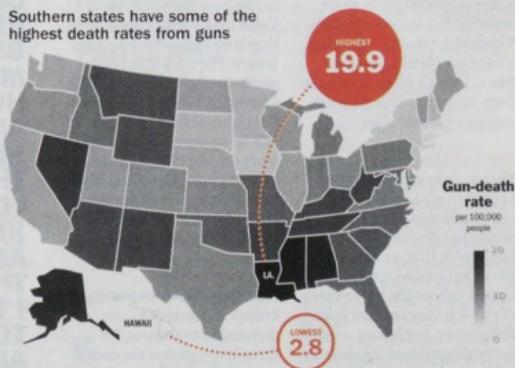
Gun-control laws are strongest in California and the Northeast



Gun-ownership rates tend to be higher where gun laws are looser



Southern states have some of the highest death rates from guns



Notes: State gun-control ratings are based on cutting of firearms trafficking, strengthening of background checks, protection of child safety, bans on military-style assault weapons and restrictions on guns in public places for 2009. Household gun-ownership rates are for 2002 (latest data available). Death rates are for 2007.

Sources: U.S. Department of Health and Human Services; Brady Campaign to Prevent Gun Violence; Legal Community Against Violence

# ARE WE BECOMING AN UNCIVIL SOCIETY?

The debate about charged political rhetoric preceded the tragedy in Tucson—and then was revived by it. TIME posed the question above to leaders and thinkers on the right and left. Here are their responses

#### JEFF FLAKE

##### Arizona Congressman (R.)

I do think that we bear a responsibility to make the debate as civil as possible and to call out those who would make it otherwise. Arizona is conservative, but there's a strong libertarian streak that runs here. There's perhaps more skepticism about the power of government to do good in a lot of cases. I'm not trying to ascribe this act to that, but that's a very powerful strain that's reflected in a lot of politicians. That's just Arizona—it's what a lot of people like about the place. Though many of us have been uncomfortable with the extreme rhetoric of late.

#### TOM BROKAW

##### Special correspondent, NBC

I think that's a very sweeping conclusion—one that I would be reluctant to make. My hope is that we would begin to have a dialogue in this country about the importance of civility. We can have strong differences, but it does seem to me that most of the country believes it's gone to critical mass in what I would call the professional class across the political spectrum—left and

right. They spend an awful lot of time finding ways to attack each other that have very little to do with the common welfare of the country.

#### GLENN BECK

##### Talk-show host

The fact that a vast majority of our society is miraculously civil might not make for exciting headlines, but it's absolutely true. I think that if you asked Adams or Jefferson to compare the discourse of today to the campaign of 1800, they'd be amazed at how civil we are. The trick is to take seriously those who do call for violence while not trampling the rights of those who don't. While we must always stand up to protect those rights, we should also realize that only a civil society could maintain this balance as well as this nation has for over 200 years.

#### RUTH SIMMONS

##### President, Brown University

I think it's too broad a condemnation to endorse. It's definitely true that the prominence and extent of uncivil behavior has been increasing. We've always had individuals who are given to extreme

**I AM  
PERFECTLY  
CIVIL. WHY  
PEOPLE  
BEHIND  
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AND  
SHAKING  
THEIR FISTS,  
I DON'T  
KNOW. IT'S  
AN UGLY  
THING, AND  
I TRY NOT  
TO THINK  
ABOUT IT.**

—GARRISON KEILLOR,  
AUTHOR AND HOST  
OF A PRAIRIE HOME  
COMPANION

and uncivil discourse and behavior. What is disturbing, I think, is the prominence of the people engaging in this behavior, and because they are prominent, they tend to evoke great emotion and, to a certain extent, great support. I'm always concerned about what exists in the public sphere that encourages young people—whose minds and ideals are still developing—to engage in antisocial behavior. So my concern is that we tone down the rhetoric, that we cease the incessant vilification of others based on their beliefs. I think it does have very, very damaging effects on young people.

#### FRANCES TOWNSEND

##### Former Homeland Security adviser

We must remember that smart, well-informed people can have legitimate policy disagreements. We must be grateful that we are blessed to live in a free and democratic society with a Constitution that protects our freedom of speech and ensures that we can advocate our views openly and forcefully. However, the blessing of freedom requires work and commitment by those



who would enjoy it. It requires that we listen. It requires that we challenge ideas with better alternatives and not with force, violence and weapons.

#### MARKOS MOULITAS ZUNIGA

Founder, Daily Kos

We have always been an uncivil society. Just ask John Adams and Thomas Jefferson. But being harsh and passionate in one's political discourse isn't the same as walking around with guns intimidating the opposition or using apocalyptic rhetoric to paint your opponents as enemies of democracy and freedom. Problem is, we now have a side that is gun-obsessed, whipping people up into a frenzy with lies about Obama taking their guns away and interning conservatives in FEMA concentration camps. When Sarah Palin tells her followers not to retreat but to "reload," when Sharron Angle says people should resort to "Second Amendment remedies" if they don't get their way at the ballot box and when Glenn Beck spreads the latest insane conspiracy theory, well, then it's only a matter of time before people start getting killed...

#### TIM PAWLENTY

Former Governor of Minnesota (R.)

This appears to be the act of a mentally deranged individual who undertook an irrational and senseless set of behaviors. To jump from that to some sweeping judgment or conclusion based on those facts would be premature, incomplete and unfair. All of that being said, we could all benefit from a more civil and thoughtful discourse. But I don't think that this incident is connected in any direct way to some inappropriate political statement, act, symbol, person, institution.

#### DEEPAK CHOPRA

Author, *The Soul of Leadership*

America prides itself on its uncivil liberties as well as its civil ones. The fabled melting pot was always a boiling cauldron of differences. We've learned to live at the boil as no other society has. But the dark side of our uncivil liberty is violence. Inflammatory and vitriolic words are a form of violence. In many wisdom traditions, speech that is imbued with compassion and love is used as a form of healing. Our society today has

## 'THE DARK SIDE OF OUR UNCIVIL LIBERTIES IS VIOLENCE. VITRIOLIC WORDS ARE A FORM OF VIOLENCE. IT'S TIME FOR US TO PAUSE AND REFLECT.'

—DEEPAK CHOPRA

the unmistakable symptoms of inflammatory disease, with violence and hostility at home and war abroad. How long can we live with this sickness? Can we start our healing process with civil speech while maintaining our civil liberties?

#### DAVID GERGEN

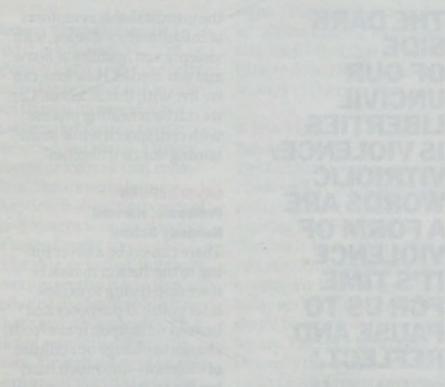
Professor, Harvard Kennedy School

There can yet be a silver lining to the Tucson massacre if we stop trying to exploit it for political purposes and instead seize upon it as a fresh chance to change our culture of violence—too much hate, too many guns, too many killings. The bitterness in politics is part of this larger trouble. There is no evidence it prompted Loughner—and the finger pointing should stop—but we knew long before Tucson that it must be cleaned up. In coming weeks, President Obama should invite GOP leaders as well as chieftains of entertainment and news, the NRA and others to see if we can reach a higher plane. America will always be rough and tumble—that's in our DNA—but generations past have proved we can also be a noble people. ■

# GOOD NEWS ABOUT GRIEF

**As the nation mourns those killed in Tucson, a new look at the science of loss shows we're more resilient than we thought**

BY RUTH DAVIS KONIGSBERG



THE FIVE STAGES OF GRIEF ARE SO DEEPLY EMBEDDED in our culture that they've become virtually inescapable. Every time we experience loss—whether personal or national—we hear them recited: denial, anger, bargaining, depression and acceptance. They're invoked to explain our emotional reaction to everything from the death of a loved one to the destruction of the Gulf of Mexico after the BP oil spill to LeBron James' abandoning the Cleveland Cavaliers for the Miami Heat.

The stages have become axiomatic, divorced from the time and place of their origin. If you were to read Elisabeth Kubler-Ross's *On Death and Dying*—the book that in 1969 gave the five stages their debut—for the first time today, you might be surprised to discover that Kubler-Ross, then a staff psychiatrist at Billings Hospital in Chicago, was actually writing about the ex-

perience of facing one's own death, not the death of someone else. It was other practitioners, having found the stages so irresistibly prescriptive, who began applying them to grief, a repurposing that Kubler-Ross encouraged. After all, there was no specific data set to contradict, no research protocols to follow: Kubler-Ross had based her theory on one-time interviews she had conducted with terminally ill patients, but she never asked them specific questions about the stages, because by her own account, she only conceived of them while up late at night after she had already been commissioned to write *On Death and Dying*.

The book was a surprise best seller, and Kubler-Ross became the fulcrum for the nascent death-and-dying movement. To her credit, she helped shatter the stoic silence that had surrounded death since World War I, and her ideas certainly raised the standard of care for dying people and their families. But she also ushered in a distinctly secular and psychological approach to





A candlelight vigil outside a hospital in Tucson. New research on grief offers fresh insights into how we cope with loss

death, one in which the focus shifted from the salvation of the deceased's soul (or at least its transition to some kind of afterlife) to the quality of his or her last days.

It wasn't long before a solution was put forth to help the bereaved as well, one promoted by an entirely new professional group specializing in the task of mitigating grief's impact. From the 1970s to the 1990s, thousands entered the field, offering individual counseling, setting up healing centers and hosting support groups at hospitals, churches and funeral homes. These counselors introduced their own theories, modifying Kübler-Ross's stages into a series of phases, tasks or needs that required active participation as well as outside professional help. Grief became a "process" or a "journey" to be completed, as well as an opportunity for personal growth. Few questioned the necessity of a large corps of private counselors dedicated to grief, despite the fact that no country other than the U.S. seemed to have one.

Our modern, atomized society had been stripped of religious faith and ritual and no longer provided adequate support for the bereaved. And so a new belief system—call it the American Way of Grief—rose up to help organize the experience. As this system grew more firmly established, it allowed for less variation in how to handle the pain of loss. So while conventions for mourning, such as wearing black armbands or using black-bordered stationery, have all but disappeared, they have been replaced by conventions for grief, which are arguably more restrictive in that they dictate not what a person wears or does in public but his or her inner emotional state. Take, for example, the prevailing notion that you must give voice to your loss or else it will fester. "Telling your story often and in detail is primal to

*Adapted from The Truth About Grief, by Ruth Davis Konigsberg.  
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the grieving process," Kübler-Ross advised in her final book, *On Grief and Grieving*, which was published in 2005, a year after her death. "You must get it out. Grief must be witnessed to be healed." This mandate borrows from the psychotherapeutic principle of catharsis, which gives it an empirical gloss, when in fact there is little evidence that "telling your story" helps alleviate suffering.

But that's not the only grief myth to have been debunked recently. In the past decade, researchers using more sophisticated methods of data collection than their predecessors did have overturned our most popular notions about this universal experience. Here are some of the biggest misconceptions about grief:

### **Myth No. 1 We Grieve in Stages**

ONE OF THE REASONS THAT THE FIVE STAGES BECAME SO POPULAR is that they make intuitive sense. "Any natural, normal human being, when faced with any kind of loss, will go from shock all the way through acceptance," Kübler-Ross said in an interview published in 1981.

Two decades later, a group of researchers at Yale decided to test whether the stages do, in fact, reflect the experience of grief. The researchers used newspaper ads and referrals to recruit 233 recently bereaved people, who were assessed for "grief indicators" in an initial interview and then in a follow-up some months later. In the Kübler-Ross model, acceptance, which she defined as recognizing that your loved one is permanently gone, is the final stage. But the resulting study, published in the *Journal of the American Medical Association* in 2007, found that most respondents accepted the death of a loved one from the very beginning. On top of that, participants reported feeling more yearning for their loved one than either anger or depression, perhaps the two cornerstone stages in the Kübler-Ross model.

Skepticism about the stages has been building in academia for a long time, and yet they still hold sway with practitioners and the general public. A 2008 survey of hospices in Canada found that Kübler-Ross's work was the literature most frequently consulted and distributed to families of dying patients. "Stage theories of grief have become embedded in curricula, textbooks, popular entertainment and media because they offer predictability and a sense of manageability of the powerful emotions associated with bereavement and loss," says Janice Genevro, a psychologist who was commissioned by a Washington nonprofit now called the Center for Advancing Health to do a report on the quality of grief services. In her 2003 report, Genevro concluded that the information being used to help the bereaved was misaligned with the latest research, which increasingly indicates that grief is not a series of steps that ultimately deposit us at a psychological finish line but rather a grab bag of symptoms that come and go, and eventually, simply lift.

### **Myth No. 2 Express It; Don't Repress It**

THE AMERICAN WAY OF GRIEF PLACES GREAT IMPORTANCE ON THE expression of your darkest emotions. "Anger is a necessary stage of the healing process...[It] means you are progressing," Kübler-Ross wrote. This may sound good, but it's proving to be inaccurate: expressing negative emotions can actually prolong your distress. In a 2007 study of 66 people who had recently lost a spouse or child, those who did not express their negative emotions six months after their loss were less depressed and anxious and had fewer health complaints at 14 and 25 months than those who did express negative emotions. The study, which included a control group of nonbereaved participants and which was conducted by George Bonanno, a professor at Columbia University's

Teachers College who specializes in the psychology of loss and trauma, suggests that tamping down or avoiding those feelings, known as "repressive coping," actually has a protective function.

A related myth is the "grief work hypothesis," which defines grief as a project that must be tackled in order to prevent psychological problems. This notion can be traced back to Freud, who wrote that the "work of mourning" was for the ego to detach itself from the deceased so that it could reattach itself to someone else. In the 1970s, Freud's definition of grief as work became the guiding metaphor for modern grief theory. But a 60-person study conducted by the husband-and-wife research team Wolfgang and Margaret Stroebe of Utrecht University found that widows who avoided confronting their loss were not any more depressed than widows who "worked through" their grief. As to the importance of giving grief a voice, several other studies done by the Stroebe indicated that talking or writing about the death of a spouse did not help people adjust to that loss any better.

This seems to hold true for other traumatic events, like the terrorist attacks of Sept. 11, 2001. In a study published in the *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology* in 2008, more than 2,000 people were given the chance to express their reactions in the immediate aftermath of 9/11 and were then followed for the next two years. Contrary to popular belief, people who did not express their initial reactions showed fewer signs of distress later on, while people who did express their reactions had a harder time adjusting.

### **Myth No. 3 Grief Is Harder on Women**

THIS STEREOTYPE CAN BE TRACED BACK TO A SURVEY OF 430 WIDOWS in Boston that was conducted from 1967 to 1973—a time when women, especially older ones, were more dependent on their husbands, both for a sense of identity and financial security, than is the case today. Although no men were included in the survey, the author, psychologist Phyllis Silverman, argued that the death of a spouse weighs more heavily on women because it presents a massive identity crisis for them: "While men need others, their self-development focuses more on individuation and autonomy. A woman's identity is largely framed by relationships... In losing an essential relationship, she loses an essential part of herself."

It's hard to say whether Silverman's analysis was colored by gender stereotypes popular in psychology at the time or whether it was swayed by her method of recruiting study participants. Most of the women who responded to her widow-to-widow outreach program were full-time homemakers when their husbands died. (Many of them did not even know how to drive.) It was the women who declined help from Silverman's outreach program—and therefore never became part of her study—who had worked outside the home before their husbands' death and continued to work. Of them, Silverman noted, they were "correct in their appraisal" that they didn't need help when it was offered, although that assessment did not change her final conclusion that widowhood universally does major and long-lasting damage to women.

The gender beliefs of the people who write about and attempt to help others cope with loss surely contributed to this misconception. According to a survey sent to counselors who had been certified by the Association for Death Education and Counseling, female grief counselors are more likely than male counselors to believe that there are sex differences in bereavement and that women need more time to work through their grief. Women are also more likely to become grief counselors in the first place.

In 2007, the Stroebe examined all studies that had attempted to measure who suffers more, men or women. To be included, the studies had to meet one of two conditions: widows and widowers



School memorials for the 9-year-old girl slain by the Tucson shooter

## THE LATEST RESEARCH INDICATES THAT GRIEF IS NOT A SERIES OF STEPS BUT RATHER A GRAB BAG OF SYMPTOMS THAT COME AND GO AND, EVENTUALLY, SIMPLY LIFT

had to be compared with a control group of married men and women, or they had to have been evaluated before the loss of their spouse to establish a baseline of their mental health. As the Stroebeis pointed out, mental distress is not unique to grief alone, and women suffer higher rates of depression in general, regardless of whether they've lost a husband or not. The resulting analysis came to a surprising conclusion: relatively speaking, men suffer more from being bereaved. Yes, widows measured higher on depression scores than widowers, but not once women's prebereavement or control-group depression levels were factored in.

### Myth No. 4 Grief Never Ends

OUR GRIEF CULTURE ASSERTS THAT IT'S PERFECTLY NORMAL TO GET mired for a long time in a state of despair after losing a loved one. Although Kübler-Ross implied an end point by identifying acceptance as the fifth and final stage, she also concluded that "the reality is that you will grieve forever."

In fact, researchers have now identified specific patterns to grief's intensity and duration. And what they have found is that the worst of grief is usually over within about six months. In a study published in the *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* in 2002, Bonanno tracked 205 elderly people whose spouses died, and the largest group—about 45% of the participants—showed no signs of shock, despair, anxiety or intrusive thoughts six months after their loss. Subjects were also screened for classic symptoms of depression, such as lethargy, sleeplessness, joylessness and appetite problems, and came up clean on those as well. That didn't mean they didn't still miss or think about their spouse, but by about half a year after their husband or wife died, they had returned to normal functioning. (So much for the often repeated saying that "the second year is harder than the first.")

Only about 15% of the participants in Bonanno's study were

still having problems at 18 months. This small minority might be suffering from a syndrome clinicians are starting to call Prolonged Grief Disorder. Most people respond to loss with resilience, which is often mischaracterized as pathological or delayed grief. Or, to borrow Bonanno's paraphrasing, "If you're resilient after a horrible accident or a traumatic event, then you're a hero, but if you're resilient after a death, then you're considered cold." Knowing that this was a common conclusion, he asked the subjects in his 2002 study about the quality of their marriages and found no significant differences between those who recovered quickly and those who took much longer. Nor were the resilient grievers found to be more aloof or distant when interacting with others. As for the possibility that they were repressing their grief, Bonanno followed the group for up to four years (some participants dropped out) to see if people who initially showed lower distress levels had delayed reactions. None of them did.

It's hard to tell what makes people resilient. "Personality probably predicts only about 10% of resilience," says Bonanno. "Having money helps, having social support helps, having minimal sources of other stress helps, but no one thing is a big predictor." What we do know is that while loss is forever, acute grief is not.

### Myth No. 5 Counseling Helps

GRIEF COUNSELING IS NOW ROUTINELY OFFERED IN A RANGE OF settings, beginning with the places where most people die: hospitals, palliative-care units and, most of all, hospices, where a minimum of one year of counseling after a loved one's death is mandated by federal legislation passed in 1982. If family members don't encounter someone offering to help in one of those places, they surely will at one of the nearly 20,000 funeral homes across the U.S., where the industry-approved term for bereavement support is "aftercare services." There are also



Mourners gather at a Tucson church

## RESEARCHERS FOUND NO EVIDENCE THAT COUNSELING HELPED MOST BEREAVED INDIVIDUALS ANY MORE THAN THE SIMPLE PASSAGE OF TIME

freestanding organizations across the country that offer a wide array of treatments. Some of these organizations are not-for-profit, but others are all for it: the Grief Recovery Institute in Sherman Oaks, Calif., has trademarked the term *grief recovery* and charges \$995 for a three-day workshop.

For a practice that has become so ubiquitous, it has been awfully hard to verify its effectiveness, no matter how well intentioned its advocates may be. When Robert Neimeyer, a psychology professor at the University of Memphis, and his colleague Joseph M. Currier analyzed the results of more than 60 controlled studies on grief interventions in 2008, they found no evidence that counseling helped most bereaved individuals any more than the simple passage of time. "Instead of finding that people who received counseling got better or stayed the same and that people who didn't receive counseling got worse or stayed the same, we found that everyone just got better," Currier says.

The only instance in which counseling showed a benefit was when it was targeted at people displaying marked difficulties adapting to loss. "Given the current research, we cannot say that grief counseling is as effective with adults who are showing a normative response," says Currier, referring to the statistical norm for grief's length and intensity.

That doesn't mean that no one is ever helped by counseling but rather that counseling doesn't, on average, seem to hasten grief's departure. In retrospect, the practice was likely popularized before there was enough solid research on normal grief to base it upon. And while counseling may have enriched a few of its practitioners, its propagation was driven more by ideology than money. Grief counselors are, by and large, not a sinister bunch out to make a buck off other people's misery, but they do, in the interest of self-preservation, have a stake in convincing us that grief is long and hard and requires their help.

### A Different, More Liberating Message

ONE UNFORTUNATE RESULT OF ALL THIS MYTHMAKING IS THAT we've become more inflexible in our expectations of other people's grief—quite a paradox, considering that awareness and tolerance were among the primary goals of the death-and-dying movement. Instead of rushing to prescribe ways to grieve, it would be more helpful to spread a different, more liberating message based on what the science is beginning to tell us: that most people are resilient enough to get through loss on their own without stages or phases or tasks. A small minority will have a much harder time of it, and clinicians should focus their efforts on tailoring interventions for this group that are based on evidence, not assumptions. As with all social science, these new findings are not the last word, though they do give us a better sense of the different responses to bereavement and their prevalence.

Drawing a clearer distinction between common and unusual reactions to loss might ultimately encourage those who don't need outside help and better assist those who do. That does not mean that grief could—or should—be diminished. But perhaps just the knowledge that our survival instinct is strong and that a great many people have not only endured terrible losses but also thrived can be a source of hope, something in scarce supply in our grief culture.

As a society, we will most likely be unable to face grief without some sort of script. "No culture before has abandoned all recommendations as to how to mourn," notes sociologist Tony Walter of the University of Bath. But it certainly seems time to move beyond our current habit of using untested theories to create unnecessarily lengthy—and agonizing—models for coping with grief that have created more anxiety about the experience instead of alleviating it. Losing someone is hard enough as it is.

**China takes the lead.**

An in-depth series explores this growing super power's influence and impact on economies around the globe. 'China shapes the world' starts January 17 in the FT and at [www.ft.com/chinaworld](http://www.ft.com/chinaworld)

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A new site encourages people to offer cash bounties to anyone who helps them find work

MONEY, PAGE 52

# Life

□ FOOD □ TECH □ MONEY



FOOD

## Dieters' Free Lunch.

Why Weight Watchers is letting people eat fruit with abandon

BY ANDREA SACHS

THEY ARE WORDS YOU NEVER thought you'd hear from the president of the world's largest diet company. "Calorie counting has become unhelpful," David Kirchhoff said recently on the Weight Watchers International website. "When we have a 100-calorie apple in one hand and a 100-calorie pack of cookies in the other, and we view them as being 'the same' because the calories are the same, it says everything that needs to be said about the limitations of just using calories in guiding food choices."

With that, he and his \$2.7 billion weight-loss empire deep-sixed the company's popular Points system, which since 1997 had helped millions of dieters (1.3 million in 2009 alone) lose weight by eating whatever they wanted as long as they kept portions under control. The new system still leaves room for some sin food but penalizes fat and empty calories as it tries

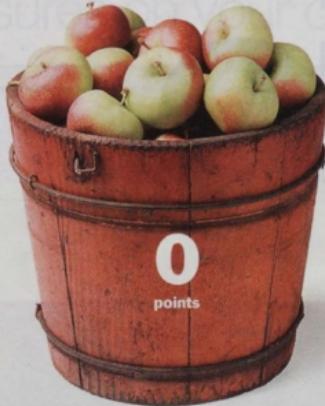
to steer dieters toward more natural, less processed food.

It's an interesting move given that the 48-year-old company makes a lot of money selling dieters its double-chocolate muffins, mini-cheeseburgers and other snacks. The radical overhaul, which is the first major alteration to the Points program, comes at a time when Weight Watchers is trying to revive its recession-battered business. Because most members have to pay about \$40 a month to go to group-support meetings and use online tools, attendance worldwide was down 7% in the first three quarters of 2010 compared with the same period in 2009. "Given the choice between losing 10 pounds or paying the rent, the latter wins every time," says JPMorgan analyst Ken Goldman.

He's still neutral on Weight Watchers, but the guys at Bank of America are getting sweet on it again, largely because they think the new plan is a winner. (The ubiquitous commercials with supersvelte spokeswoman Jennifer Hudson don't hurt either.) The shift to the Points-Plus system means many longtime participants will buy new cookbooks, food scales and calculators. Plus, lapsed members like me are suddenly coming back to meetings so we can figure out how the new program works.

In December I attended my first Weight Watchers meeting in a long time. (I got down to 127 lb. (58 kg) in 2004, but several pounds had recently crept back on.) What I found there was both familiar and very different. Like the old program, the new one assigns a point value to pretty much every food item under the sun and calculates a daily ration of points based on a member's

## Making a Point. Weight Watchers has changed its food values



### Moving beyond calorie counting

Under Weight Watchers' new point system, which has stopped counting most fruits and vegetables toward a dieter's total daily ration, you can eat a whole bushel of apples with impunity, but a high-fat, high-carbohydrate slice of pie will cost you dearly.

height, weight and age. But most of the point values have changed. The system now favors foods that are high in protein or fiber, which make the body work harder to convert them into energy and also leave the belly feeling fuller longer. Meanwhile, point values went up for foods loaded with carbohydrates, which are more easily absorbed by the body and turned into fat.

These changes make sense, except that not all carbs are treated equally: fructose-

laden fruit and all the starchiest vegetables have zero points under the new plan. At the meeting, some veteran dieters expressed apprehension about this. A banana used to be something you treasured, a 2-point treat, and now you could eat the whole bunch with impunity? The group leader, a friendly Australian named Murray who had lost 35 lb. (16 kg) through Weight Watchers, politely pointed out that moderation was still in order. Still, he didn't seem overly con-

cerned. "We're not here because we ate too many fruits and veggies," he said wryly.

Marion Nestle, a high-profile professor of nutrition at New York University, agrees. "It's pretty hard to overeat things that have so much water in them and so few calories," she says. "I'm sure it can be done, but you'd have to be eating all day long." But Jennifer Andrus, an experienced dietitian whom I had consulted during my own weight-loss odyssey, is less blasé about the new fruit-is-free rule. "Unless the science has changed, a calorie is still a calorie," she says. "I think that people are going to have less dramatic results with this plan."

At a Weight Watchers meeting I attended on Jan. 2, a long line snaked out the door, filled no doubt with resolution makers. As a different group leader—Josh, who had lost 170 lb. (77 kg)—explained the new program in detail, I watched a young woman near me down a banana and a clementine. Later, as I read the Weight Watchers message boards, I wondered whether Andrus might be right. An Ohio woman lamented on the site that her healthy snacks (popcorn, Fiber One bars, etc.) use up more precious points than they used to. "I then resort to eating fruit and veggies since they're such a bargain, and I know that's the whole point, but then I get bored," she confessed. "The next thing I know I'm at the vending machine at work, furiously stuffing in my dollar and speed-dialing the number for pizza-flavored Combos."

I knew that temptation all too well: my extra pounds were the result of too much noshing at the office. But the new Weight Watchers program worked for me. Within a month, I was back down to a trim size 6. Yet I must admit that I'm still a little fruit-shy, limiting myself to no more than a couple of pieces a day. And zero trips to the vending machine.



### New Ways to Lose

See our list of the year's most notable diet books at [time.com/diet\\_books](http://time.com/diet_books)

## Tablet Brigade.

Apple's revolutionary iPad finally has competition—lots of it. But the tablet wars are just beginning

BY HARRY MCCRACKEN

TABLETS MAY HAVE BEEN THE MOST TALKED-about new gizmos of 2010, but nearly all the talk was about one model: Apple's iPad, which instantly defined the category when Steve Jobs unveiled it nearly a year ago. By the end of the year, only one serious iPad alternative—Samsung's diminutive Galaxy Tab—had gone on sale.

That's why gadget enthusiasts were so eager to attend the big tablet coming-out party at the International Consumer Electronics Show (CES) in early January. The cavernous Las Vegas Convention Center positively bulged with the things, including newly announced contenders from Motorola, Panasonic, Toshiba and other tech behemoths, as well as models from smaller players such as HDTV manufacturer Vizio and bargain-basement dweller Coby. Even Polaroid was showing one.

But it will be a while before it's possible to separate the winners from the also-rans. No major debutant was available for immediate purchase. Prices were often unannounced. Some models didn't even have names yet.

Motorola's Xoom made the biggest splash, snagging Best of Show honors out of 20,000-plus products that premiered at CES. Its 10.1-in. wide-screen display is a skosh roomier than the 9.7-in. one on the iPad. And unlike Apple's cameraless tablet, it has cameras on the back (for snapshots) and front (for video calls). The Xoom will be sold with Verizon Wireless service—3G at first, with a free upgrade to the new, much zippier LTE network in the second quarter of this year.

Like most of the tablets, the Motorola model will run Google's Android operating system. Android 3.0 Honeycomb, the first version designed with tablets rather than smart phones in mind, looks promising, with an all-touchscreen interface replacing the excess of buttons that has

hobbled earlier releases. Still, I fret that the industry's reliance on one software supplier will make it tough for companies to differentiate their tablets through hardware design alone. In the end, they're all just skinny slabs in various sizes.

A few manufacturers are going their own way. BlackBerry maker RIM has put together a potent software platform for its 7-in. PlayBook, which it announced back in September and plans to ship early this year; the units available for test drives at RIM's CES booth looked at least as impressive as any Android-powered alternative. And HP is expected to use a Feb. 9 press event to announce the first tablets based on WebOS, the slick operating system it picked up in July when it acquired mobile pioneer Palm.

Oh, and one more tablet should show up before long: the second-generation iPad. As usual, Apple is staying mum until the moment it's ready to put its hype machine into overdrive. But industry watchers have already tried to puzzle out the likely improvements: dual cameras, a higher-resolution screen, possibly a memory-card slot.

Many of the already announced tablets match those features. But the 2011 iPad will pack a software upgrade too—and nobody else in the business has yet proved capable of keeping pace with Apple when it comes to integrating hardware, software and services into one satisfying experience. In other words, it won't be the least bit surprising if this year's most compelling iPad alternative turns out to be another iPad.



# Bounty Hunters.

Out of work? A new site encourages you to offer cash to anyone who helps you land a job

BY BRAD TUTTLE

**THE OUT-OF-WORK ENGINEERING** grad figured, What the hell. He had been searching for a full-time job ever since he got his M.B.A. from UCLA in 2009. After 18 months of networking and sending out résumés, the 28-year-old Los Angeles resident spotted an ad on Craigslist in November for a job-hunting site called Career Element, which encourages people to offer cash bounties to anyone who helps them find work. He signed up, described his ideal gig—a business-development role at a venture-backed start-up—and promised to pay \$10,000 for a referral resulting in employment.

The strategy, while extreme, is not unprecedented. Forty-two percent of unemployed workers in the U.S. have been jobless for at least 27 weeks, and many of them are willing to try anything,

including hiring someone else, to start getting a paycheck again. While some job seekers offer rewards on their own—like the laid-off financial analyst in Texas who placed a classified ad on the Fort Worth Weekly's website last summer, offering \$1,000 to anyone who helped her land full-time employment—others are flashing cash incentives in a new breed of online job marketplace. Career Element, based in Palo Alto, Calif., launched in October to connect job-seeking clients with agents, who could be professional recruiters or just regular Joes with knowledge about job openings, perhaps within their companies. If an agent helps a client get hired, the agent collects 87.5% of the bounty, and Career Element keeps the rest.

Whereas Career Element lets members join for free, another site, two-year-old

## He described his ideal gig and promised to pay \$10,000 for a referral resulting in employment

Ntroduction.com, charges \$15 per listing per month. But that hasn't deterred more than 2,000 seekers from signing up. The site facilitates sales introductions as well as job referrals. It offers to hold reward money in escrow for six weeks—in case the introduction doesn't happen—but charges a 20% fee for this option.

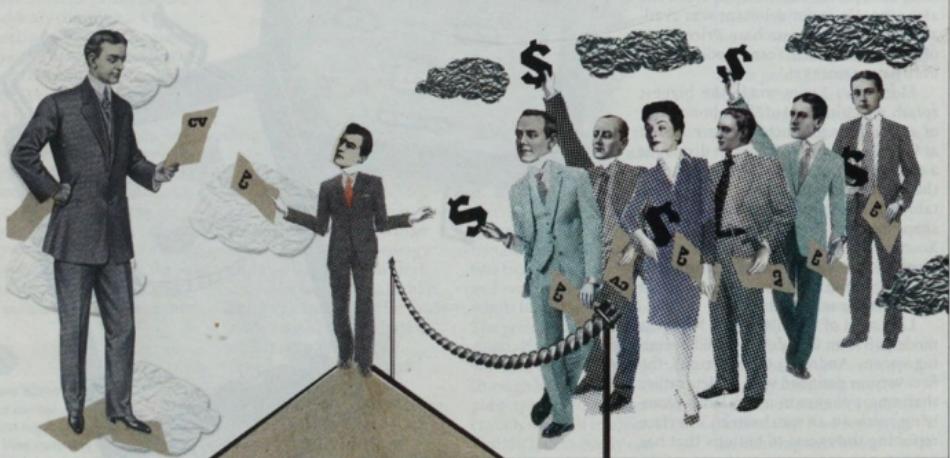
Until recently, referral fees like headhunters' were always paid by the employer, not the newly hired employee. "For a long time, companies have shown a willingness to pay for referrals of good candidates, so it's not a big surprise when the reverse happens in a tight labor market," says Peter Cap-

elli, director of Wharton's Center for Human Resources.

"The concept of people paying for information is only going to grow."

In a way, waving a cash reward or paying a fee for special networking privileges is not unlike bribing a bouncer to get into a nightclub. But once you get past the velvet rope, it's up to you to charm the people inside.

So far, Career Element has signed up just 89 clients and landed only one of them a job. As for the unemployed M.B.A. in Los Angeles, who asked not to be identified by name, his phone started ringing within days of posting a \$10,000 reward, but none of Career Element's agents have been able to help him score an interview yet. So on Jan. 10 he started an internship, which he found through contacts on LinkedIn. "It's unpaid," he says. "Hopefully, it leads to something with an actual salary." ■



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# Arts

MUSIC □ TELEVISION □ MOVIES □ SHORT LIST



**Guns n' poses** The Decemberists, from left: Chris Funk, Jenny Conlee, Colin Meloy, Nate Query and John Moen



## MUSIC

**Nerd Rock.** Portland folk rockers the Decemberists are bookish, mature and nobody's idea of pop superstars. That's just how they like it

BY DOUGLAS WOLK

IT'S A CLEAR, CHILLY WINTER DAY IN Portland, Ore., and Colin Meloy, leader of the Decemberists, is expounding on folk chanteuse Gillian Welch's guest vocals on their new album, *The King Is Dead*. "No country-rock record would be complete without some backing vocalist with a clear and distinct voice," he says, citing Nicolette Larson's singing on Neil Young's *Comes a Time* and Emmylou Harris' work with Gram Parsons. Welch's soaring harmonies are, Meloy proclaims, an "homage to the form." Then he sighs. "We're so nerdy."

# A Decemberist Discography. Songs about ghosts, queens and whales



## CASTAWAYS AND CUTOUTS (2002)

Geek heaven: supple folk rock about 19th century ghosts, legions, naires and lascivious sailors



## HER MAJESTY THE DECEMBERISTS (2003)

Opens with a rewrite of a sea chantey and goes on to pay tribute to novelist Myla Goldberg and evocative Los Angeles



## PICARESQUE (2005)

Their boldest and poppiest album, bolstered by strings and horns. Also their angriest, populated with characters including an injured athlete and a ravenous whale



## THE CRANE WIFE (2006)

The group's major-label debut, mostly concerned with violence and its consequences, led to a televised guitar-solo duel with Stephen Colbert



## THE HAZARDS OF LOVE (2009)

A grand, mannered rock opera with a couple of extra singers and a plotline straight out of English ballads, complete with a queen and a rake



## THE KING IS DEAD (2011)

Terse, introspective and informed by early-'70s country rock; features guest appearances by Gillian Welch and R.E.M.'s Peter Buck

Well, yes. This is, after all, the guy who writes songs with titles like "The Chimbley Sweep" (from Dylan Thomas' *Under Milk Wood*) and "My Mother Was a Chinese Trapeze Artist." The most bookish front man in rock 'n' roll, Meloy comes across like one of the brainy, eccentric British folkies he acknowledges as influences, artists like Shirley Collins and Anne Briggs. But the Decemberists are Portlanders through and through, and over the past decade, the group has flirted with commercial success while forming the nexus of a burgeoning folk-rock scene in the Pacific Northwest.

The Decemberists aren't the easiest band to pigeonhole: there's not a big "hyperliterate alternative-prog-folk" section at most record stores. But with critical buzz building behind it, *The King Is Dead* could mark their crossover to the realm of important American rock groups alongside the likes of Wilco and the White Stripes. Or it could keep them hovering comfortably outside the mainstream: to use a word popular in their ecologically minded hometown, the Decemberists are sustainable.

With little in the way of radio hits, they've grown into a solid touring attraction, drawing enthusiastic fans who flock to their shows and dissect Meloy's lyrics online ("All dolled up in gabardine! The lash-flashing Leda of Pier 19," goes one couplet from their new single, "Down by the Water"). Their audience isn't the sort usually associated with pop-music fandom. As multi-instrumentalist Chris Funk describes them: "They like to read books. They probably weren't athletic in high school. They probably went to a liberal-arts college and listen to NPR."

The band has spent the past decade specializing in high-concept suites and tongue-in-cheek lyrical conceits, culminating in 2009's hour-long prog rock opera *The Hazards of Love*. So *The King Is Dead* is something of a departure: to crisp, pared-down, often intensely personal songs in the mode of vintage R.E.M. or Young (R.E.M. guitarist Peter Buck appears on a few tracks, in fact). Four of the five band members have young children, and the two most powerful songs on the new album deal with parenthood. "Dear Avery," Meloy says, was inspired by soldiers in Iraq and Afghanistan: "They're kids," he says. "If you're a parent of one of these people, you just want to grab them by the scruff of their neck and yank them out of it. When they're that far out of arm's reach, that must be devastating." And "Rise to Me" directly addresses Meloy's son, diagnosed with autism several years ago: "Hey Henry—can you hear me? Let me see those eyes." "It's chronicling our feelings as a family and the sort of face that we have to put on to remain sane," Meloy explains.

The release of *The King Is Dead* coincides with the band's 10th anniversary, more or less—none of its members seems clear on when exactly the group formed, although everyone agrees it took a while to catch on. Meloy remembers hanging a poster at a record store for an early show and over-

hearing someone say, "Oh, the Decemberists. They play *all* the time." He winces. "I walked out, and I thought, 'We're never gonna do anything.'"

The punch line is that the Decemberists do play all the time in Portland now, just not necessarily together. "We try to really be active in the community," says Funk, who co-curates a monthly music revue for kids called *You Who*. Various Decemberists moonlight as the instrumental bluegrass band Black Prairie, back-up singer-songwriter Laura Veirs as the party band Two Beers Veirs and play in a Pogues tribute band (named K.M.R.I.A., by Meloy, after a profane rejoinder in James Joyce's *Ulysses*). As bassist Nate Query puts it, "There aren't a lot of people in Portland who don't have two degrees of separation from the Decemberists at this point."

This month, the band launches a world tour in support of *The King Is Dead*. Then it plans to take a year or two off—although, Funk notes, "We always say that." Meloy, for one, has a handful of other projects in the works, most prominently *Wildwood*, a series of adventure novels for young readers (with art by his wife Carson Ellis, the band's "illustrator-in-residence") debuting this fall.

The Decemberists wouldn't mind if their audience expanded beyond NPR listeners and library patrons, but after a decade together, they seem satisfied to be where they are right now: part of a stable, well-loved group, enmeshed in their community. "Maybe we'll become a pop band, finally," Funk muses. "But I just look at photos of us, and I'm like, 'Well, there's your first problem.' We look like we should be at a farmers' market, serving scones or something."

**The King Is Dead could mark the Decemberists' crossover to the realm of important American rock groups**

# Generation XXX.

MTV's parental nightmare *Skins* has sex, drugs and cheek to spare but needs to find a voice

BY JAMES PONIEWOZIK

**I**F THERE'S ONE INDUSTRY IN WHICH America has never run an export deficit, it is young lust. And MTV—which is to that market sector what GM was to cars in the '50s—has always been able to source material right here in the good old U.S.A., from its first hair-metal videos to the latest episode of *Jersey Shore*.

But MTV's scripted series have had a harder time matching the success of its randy dating shows and anything-goes reality soaps. So the network's latest attempt is an import, of a sort. *Skins* (Mondays, 10 p.m. E.T.) began life as a racy British model, a teen dramedy that was remarkable—and controversial—not so much for the amount of sex and drugs its ensemble enjoyed as for the show's lack of judgment about it.

MTV hired Bryan Elsley, who created the show for Britain's Channel 4 with his then 19-year-old son Jamie Brittain, to adapt it for the U.S. The new version is slightly tamer than the original, mostly in language, though few viewers will suspect that, what with all the sex-toy references and the conversation between one character and a preteen kid about the merits of different types of joint-rolling paper.

The pilot begins with manipulative, slick-talking clique leader Tony (James Newman) working his cell phone in a serial call that introduces most of the ensemble cast. He's plotting to find a girl to whom

his introverted friend Stanley (Daniel Flaherty) can lose his virginity; this eventually develops into a plan to score a load of pot and sell it at a party. It all goes wrong, of course, but ends not in jail or regret or life lessons but in a pileup of slapstick, poignant connections and laughter. If you're a parent and reaching for the Maalox after reading this, that's *Skins* doing its job.

## Pleasure Without the Guilt

THERE'S FAR MORE FLESH, SWEARING AND toking on *Skins* than on the edgiest CW soap, but what may be most shocking to an American audience is how insouciantly it defies teen TV's unwritten mandate of consequences. On U.S. teen dramas, you can titillate the audience with bad behavior so long as, at some point, there's a pregnancy scare or a cautionary drug overdose. Like the Prohibition-era winemaking kits that instructed the buyer never to let the contents ferment, teen soaps adhere to the agreed-upon fiction that they are bulwarks against the things they are actually delivery systems for.

*Skins*, like the movies *Superbad* and *Dazed and Confused*, instead admits that teenagers seek out sex and drugs because they feel good. Whether or not this is responsible, it's more forthright. (Consequences are a fraught subject for shows about teenagers anyway; see MTV's *Teen Mom*, where the wages of adolescent pregnancy are reality stardom.) On *Skins*, the characters do drugs and have sex and have a deep

core of sadness. But they don't have a core of sadness *because* they do drugs and have sex. Nor, necessarily, is it the other way around.

How realistic is the show? That's for your kids to know and for you hopefully never to find out. (MTV's *Skins*, like the U.K.'s, boasts a staff of "advisory teenagers.") But the lack of melodrama doesn't make it flippant. The characters come from middle-to-lower-middle-class homes in an unnamed, grimy Rust Belt city (there's money around, but their families generally don't have it), and they have real problems. Cadie (Britne Oldford) has drug issues and a history of hospitalization; Chris (Jesse Carere) finds for himself after his single mother ditches him; we first see Tony's sister Eura (Eleanor Zichy) staggering home disheveled at the crack of dawn.

*Skins'* biggest challenge will be finding its American voice. (The same can be said of Showtime's new family-poverty drama *Shameless*, another transgressive Channel 4 series exported to the U.S.) Most of the episodes screened for critics are derivative of the British original, and it doesn't help that the exteriors, shot in Toronto, look unmistakably Canadian. But at least it has strong source material. The show is constructed like a novel in stories, each episode after the ensemble-based pilot breaking down one character while drawing surprising connections among the rest.

For all its cheekiness and raunch, *Skins* has more sweetness than snarky teen soaps like *Gossip Girl*. In one telling glimpse, we see that lesbian cheerleader Tea (Sofia Black-D'Elia), the one new character in the U.S. version, has a tattoo, in an intimate area, of an E. E. Cummings verse: "i carry your heart with me/ i carry it in my heart." This is the secret of this unsettling, flawed but ambitious show: it wears its heart on its skin. ■



Kids these days The ensemble cast of MTV's new teen drama *Skins*, in a rare sober, mostly clothed moment

## MOVIES

# Sting like a B.

Seth Rogen plays bumbling superhero to Jay Chou's dashing sidekick in *The Green Hornet*



Stop, or my driver will shoot Britt (Rogen) and Kato (Chou) fight crime

BY RICHARD CORLISS

THE WASTREL SON OF A CRUSADING NEWSPAPER publisher, Britt Reid (Seth Rogen) wants his life to have meaning—which means kicking ass. When he discovers that Kato (Jay Chou), his late father's car mechanic and coffee brewer, is a whiz at martial arts and just about everything else, Britt has a rare brainstorm: "We'll pose as villains, but we'll act like heroes." In fact, he poses as a hero but mostly acts like a jerk; Kato does all the cool stuff, the driving and kicking and dynamiting. So although Britt thinks he's in charge—Indiana Jones to Kato's Short Round or Inspector Clouseau to his kung fu manservant (named, similarly, Cato)—it's he who stumbles into catastrophes from which Kato must save him. Kato's the hero here, and Britt is his sidekick's sidekick.

The notion of a Caucasian leading man playing second banana to his Asian valet is the one inspiration of Michel Gondry's *The Green Hornet*, the year's first 3-D B movie. Or, really, *bee* movie, since it is another of Britt's doltsish epiphanies that his superhero should be named the Green Bee. It's Kato who proposes the more imposing nom de plume.

Based on the 1930s radio series written by Fran Striker (though his boss, George W. Trendle, gets creator credit here), as well as two movie serials, a comic book and the 1966 TV show that introduced U.S. audiences to Bruce Lee, the new film might be called a faithful parody. It honors the main characters' names and occupations, their slick sedan (that "roll-

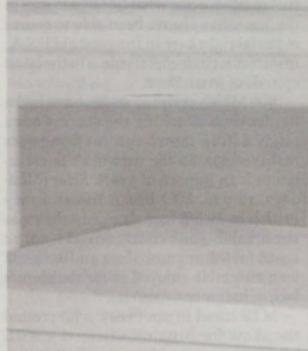
ing arsenal," the Black Beauty) and the unfulfilled romance between Britt and Lenore Case (Cameron Diaz), his gal Friday at the newspaper. But it's even truer to Rogen's screen persona, from *Knocked Up* and *Pineapple Express*, of the amiable underachiever. It also adheres devoutly to the creed of the buddy action film, in which the heroes cause more collateral damage than the villains—much of Los Angeles is in rubble by the end of the movie—and guys are at the center and women are just the accessories.

### Attractive Opposites

IN THE SCRIPT, BY ROGEN AND HIS PERENNIAL pal Evan Goldberg, even Britt's backstory is a male dilemma. His father James (Tom Wilkinson) was a bold journalist but a sadistic dad; Britt must resolve those contradictions while he does battle with another father figure, the drug lord Chudnofsky (Christoph Waltz), an Oscar winner for *Inglourious Basterds*, who is no luckier in finding a suitable comic tone than his character is in destroying Britt. But this is a movie about brotherhood, and Chou, the Taiwanese actor-singer, has a baby-faced steeliness that makes Kato an attractive opposite to Britt's bumbling layabout.

Director Gondry, far from his oneiric *Eternal Sunshine of the Spotless Mind*, keeps things cruising and exploding, while Rogen attends to the rowdy humor. The mix is not nearly classic but is congenial enough to warm up a January weekend and perhaps to stoke a sequel. Call it *The Green Hornet Strikes Again? No: Kato II!* ■

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**Help Stop and Reverse Bone Loss**



# IMPORTANT FACTS ABOUT BONIVA

(bon-EE-va) ibandronate sodium 150-mg tablet

## What is BONIVA?

BONIVA, a bisphosphonate, is a prescription medicine used to treat and prevent osteoporosis in postmenopausal women, characterized by weakening of the bone.

Taken once a month in tablet form, BONIVA may stop and reverse bone loss in most women. It has been clinically proven to help build and maintain bone density, which can help reduce fractures.

## What is the most important information about BONIVA?

BONIVA may cause serious problems in the stomach and the esophagus (the tube that connects your mouth and stomach) such as trouble swallowing, heartburn, and ulcers.

## Who should not take BONIVA?

### Do not take BONIVA if you:

- have abnormalities with your esophagus, such as restriction or difficulty swallowing
- have low blood calcium (hypocalcemia)
- cannot sit or stand for at least 60 minutes
- have kidneys that work very poorly
- are allergic to BONIVA or any of its ingredients

See Patient Information for complete list.

## Before you start BONIVA.

### Tell your health care provider if you:

- are pregnant or plan to become pregnant
- are breast-feeding
- have trouble swallowing or other problems with your esophagus
- have kidney problems
- are planning a dental procedure such as tooth extraction

Tell your health care provider and dentist about all medications you're taking, including vitamins, antacids, and supplements.

## How should you take BONIVA?

### You must take BONIVA exactly as instructed by your health care provider.

- Take first thing in the morning, on the same day each month.
- Swallow whole (do not chew or suck) with a full glass (6 to 8 oz) of plain water (not sparkling or mineral). Do not take with tea, coffee, juice, or milk.
- After you take BONIVA, remain standing or sitting for at least 60 minutes before you eat, drink, lie down, or take any other oral medications, including calcium, vitamins, and antacids. Some medicines can stop BONIVA from getting to your bones.
- If you take too much BONIVA, drink a full glass of milk and call your local poison control center or emergency room right away.  
Do not make yourself vomit. Do not lie down.

- If you miss a monthly dose and your next scheduled BONIVA day is more than 7 days away, take one BONIVA 150 mg tablet in the morning following the day that you remember. Do not take two 150 mg tablets within the same week. If your scheduled BONIVA day is only 1 to 7 days away, wait until your next scheduled BONIVA day to take your tablet. Then return to taking one BONIVA 150 mg tablet every month in the morning of your chosen day, according to your original schedule. If you are not sure what to do if you miss a dose, contact your health care provider, who will be able to advise you.

## What are the possible side effects of BONIVA?

### Stop taking BONIVA and call your health care provider right away if you have pain or trouble swallowing, chest pain, or very bad heartburn or heartburn that does not get better. Follow dosing instructions carefully to decrease the risk of these effects.

#### BONIVA may cause:

- Pain or trouble swallowing
- Heartburn
- Ulcers in stomach or esophagus

#### Common side effects are:

- Diarrhea
- Pain in extremities (arms or legs)
- Upset stomach

#### Less common side effects are:

- Short-term, mild flu-like symptoms, which usually improve after the first dose

Rarely, patients have reported allergic and skin reactions. Contact your health care provider if you develop any symptoms of an allergic reaction including skin rash (with or without blisters), hives, wheezing, or swelling of the face, lips, tongue, or throat. Get medical help right away if you have trouble breathing, swelling, or feel light-headed.

Rarely, patients have reported severe bone, joint, and/or muscle pain starting within one day to several months after beginning to take oral bisphosphonate drugs. Contact your health care provider if you develop these symptoms after starting BONIVA.

Rarely, patients have reported serious jaw problems associated with delayed healing and infection, often following dental procedures such as tooth extraction. If you experience jaw problems, contact your health care provider and dentist.

This summary is not a complete list of side effects. For a complete list, consult your health care provider or pharmacist.

## Want to know more?

This summary is not everything you need to know about BONIVA. It does not take the place of talking with your health care provider about your condition or treatment. For more complete information, talk to your health care provider or pharmacist.

Visit [myboniva.com](http://myboniva.com) or call 1-888-MyBONIVA for the complete Prescribing Information, which includes the Patient Information.

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When Admiral Farragut fought his legendary Naval battles he used a telescope just like this to monitor the movements of the enemies' fleets. This beautiful optical instrument, a faithful replica of the famous original, is about 5" long in its collapsed position and 13" when extended to full operating length.

Enlargement is 25x, which means that it brings everything 25-times closer, and in needle-sharp focus, than if viewed with the unaided eye. ADMIRAL FARRAGUT'S TELESCOPE comes with a belt-loop vinyl carrying case. There is also a table-top tripod for extended observations.

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JOMIRAZOOMS are the absolutely ultimate in binoculars. They fit in your hand and weigh less than 7 oz. But they pack an enormous wallop in their small body. Porro roof-prism construction and ruby-coated lenses guarantee pinpoint sharpness at any distance. The 18mm objective lenses provide great light-gathering capacity making JOMIRAZOOMS utterly reliable even in the dim light of dawn or dusk. The zoom lever lets you smoothly change the magnification from 6x to 18x or anything in between. Are you watching the pitcher's windup on 6x? Zoom to 18x and you may be able to tell whether he is throwing a fastball or a slider. There can be nothing more useful for sports, nature watching, navigation, and so many other pursuits.

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This is a little optical marvel. PANSCOPE (only 2" long) contains a complete optical system in its tiny body. You may use it as a 3x telescope or as a unique 3x telescope-loupe. In its magnifying mode, it delivers magnifiers and loupes at 5x, 10x, and 15x enlargement. And to top it all, it also functions as a 30x microscope of laboratory quality.

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Much smaller than even "pocket" binoculars and with greater magnification than most, JOMIRASCOPE should be your constant companion. And do consider the 25x microscope attachment of laboratory quality, which makes JOMIRASCOPE a complete optical system.

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# Short List

TIME'S PICKS FOR THE WEEK



## 1 | TELEVISION **American Idol**

*Idol's* 10th season finds a new group of performers trying to win over a tough crowd. Not the singers: the judges. Post-Simon Cowell, the show aims to reinvent itself with Steven Tyler and Jennifer Lopez (plus stalwart Randy Jackson) and a slew of format changes. Will it work for us, dawg?

## 2 | TELEVISION **Lights Out**

Holt McCallany's subtle performance as Patrick "Lights" Leary keeps FX's boxing drama riveting between rounds. An aging heavyweight has to risk permanent damage (and shady entanglements) to keep his family afloat. In the ring and out, his punches land.



## 3 | BOOK **Best European Fiction 2011**

Stars like England's Hilary Mantel and Spain's Enrique Vila-Matas converge with rising talent from Italy to Iceland in this collection of a continent's worth of cutting-edge fiction. Read it to expand your horizons and maybe discover the next Stieg Larsson.

## 4 | DVD **The Freebie**

In mumblecore star Katie Aselton's pensive, slyly observed directorial debut, a listless married couple (Dax Shepard, Aselton) take a night off from monogamy. The plan is to reignite their old spark, but—duh—it's not that easy.



## 5 | DVD **Shock Corridor and The Naked Kiss**

Samuel Fuller's films are like tabloid headlines in action. His 1963 *Shock Corridor* might be *NEWSMEN GOES NUTS IN LOONY BIN*; *The Naked Kiss* (1964) could blare *EX-HOOKER DIGS UP SMALL-TOWN SLEAZE*. New on Blu-ray, these visions of America are brutal, baroque and thrilling.



## Q&A **Piers Morgan**

When Larry King announced his retirement after 25 years as host of CNN's flagship prime-time talk show, the world wondered who would replace him: Katie Couric? Anderson Cooper? Ryan Seacrest? Nope: the inheritor of King's suspenders is Piers Morgan, a British former newspaper editor and reality-TV judge. His show, *Piers Morgan Tonight*, debuts Jan. 17.

**Did the job offer come as a surprise to you?**  
I was probably less surprised than people in America, who only know me as a judge on *America's Got Talent*. In Britain, I'm known as an interviewer from my *Piers Morgan's Life Stories* show, where I've interviewed people from Prime Minister Gordon Brown to Simon Cowell to Richard Branson and Sharon Osbourne.

**How different will your show be from *Larry King Live*?**

Larry is one of the legends of American TV. To try to copy him would be ridiculous. I have a different interview style; I'm probably a bit more provocative and cheekier.

**Your journalism career isn't without controversy. In 2004 you were fired as editor of the *Daily Mirror* after the tabloid ran photos purporting to show British soldiers abusing Iraqi prisoners—now believed to be hoaxes.**

I stand completely by what the *Mirror* published. I've never apologized for it. As for the veracity of this particular set of pictures, it remains unanswered. I've never seen any hard evidence that they are fakes.

**Do you think your appeal is largely due to your accent?**

There is a certain advantage to the British accent. I do notice that Americans love it; they think that we Brits are smarter than perhaps we are. So I'm going to be relying on that, definitely. —BY TARA KELLY



## Arts Online

For more reviews and openings this weekend, go to [time.com/entertainment](http://time.com/entertainment)

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Joel

# Stein

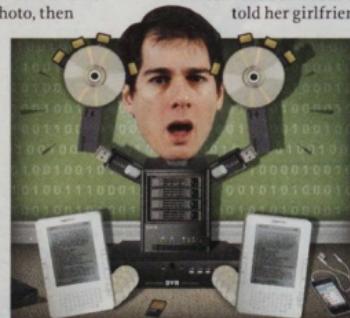
## The Mess Manifesto. Why we need to stop worrying and learn to love digital disorder

I HAVE THE OPPOSITE OF OBSESSIVE-COMPULSIVE disorder, which therapists call not-giving-a-crap disorder. At least therapists who are my mom. Instead of checking things over and over, I do not check them even once. I have not only gone to the airport at the wrong time for my flight; I have gone to the wrong airport. One day I complimented my wife for buying a cool blue elephant-shaped footstool, and she told me it had been in our house for two years. And that we have seven more of them. The way I like things arranged is however they are right now.

And yet, in the past few years I've become a compulsive organizer. I have been sucked into hours of deleting pictures on iPhoto, then organizing the rest into little titled folders, as if the Laszlo Stein Presidential Library will have separate displays for an 18-month-old Laszlo with food on his face and a 19-month-old Laszlo with food on his face. I've lost days fiddling with the bottom of my Netflix queue, which is the section that should be labeled "movies I will never see." I could have read a Tolstoy novel in the time I've spent managing my songs on iTunes, putting old e-mails into folders, watching TV shows I don't really care about just to get them off my DVR and moving the downloaded Tolstoy novel from my computer to my iPhone and then to my iPad.

We are all OCD now. We do these things not just because digital filing gives us the satisfaction of cleaning without the unpleasant feeling of getting up from our chairs. It's because we're constantly confronting the onslaught of information, and our brains are trying to make patterns out of the randomness. We believe that if we just finish a list of every movie we want to see, we can finish that task, despite the fact that Rob Schneider is going to make more films. We have seen the horror of infinity, and we respond by trying to give everything in it one to five stars. Which is precisely the reason God has avoided taking Gene Shalit.

Even our relationships need to be sorted neatly into groups on Facebook. "I've interviewed kids who spend an inordinate amount of time building their friend circles—who gets to see this and who gets to see



that," says Sherry Turkle, MIT professor and author of *Alone Together: Why We Expect More from Technology and Less from Each Other*. "Eight-year-olds manage databases. Not only of their songs but of their people." Though, to be fair, 90% of the people in those databases are Justin Bieber.

Organizing old records used to be an excuse to look at artwork and read liner notes. Now it is just an excuse to do no work. The problem is that unlike in the physical world, there is no actual benefit in this digital organization: no smelly food out of the fridge, no clean desk to work at, no clear path from the bathroom to my bed. No woman has ever told her girlfriend that she sees a future for a

relationship because the guy she is dating has a really clean PC desktop. No woman will ever sleep with you because your music collection is sorted by genre, artist and the date each album was released. That didn't work in the 1980s either, but at least yanking out old Yes albums gave you time to bore her into sitting on a couch. Worse yet, no one visiting my house will ever see the unread Tolstoy books I have shelved so neatly on my iPad, and I

don't know how much longer I can keep giving people unasked-for demos of my iPad.

We need a digital Zoloft, something that will force us to allow messiness into our digital lives. Now that our e-mail and date-stamped photos are searchable, there's no need to build all these folders. We can delete TV shows without watching them, leave movies on our Netflix queues. We need an app—I'm calling it 1-Year-Old Boy—that grabs stuff out of our folders and throws it around, possibly while laughing, possibly while pooping, probably both. It will hide a few episodes of *30 Rock* from us when we have more than five to watch, and it will hide them in its mouth. And it will remind us that anarchy is the best way to actually enjoy things: it's the newness of watching a movie we didn't know about, of hearing a song we didn't set up on a mix, of seeing a cat do something stupid right in front of us instead of on YouTube. Though it wouldn't be a terrible idea for you to create an Awesome Column Fan e-mail group to forward this column to.

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